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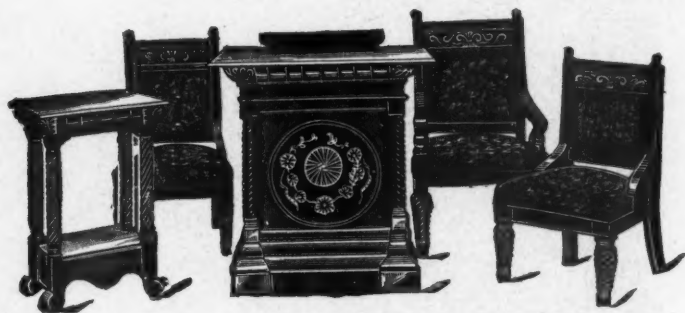
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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW:

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.

VOL. XIV.—NOVEMBER, 1890.—No. LXXXIII.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND
SCIENCE.

THAT there has been, and still is, a conflict between Religion and Science, I do not stay to illustrate at any length. Let it be granted that the treatment of Galileo by the Inquisition is an indelible blot upon the church of that day. Let it be also granted that the burning of Giordano Bruno was a crime. Nay, for the sake of argument, let the somewhat colored and warm description presented by Dr. Draper in his well-known "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science" be esteemed to be truth, cold and colorless truth. For physical science has indubitably had to fight its way, harassed on all sides by the mounted troops of religion. And I am old enough to remember with shame the personal attacks which were made in many a pulpit and religious periodical upon the illustrious author of that remarkable book which has revolutionized, nay constituted, the science of biology, I mean, of course, Darwin's "Origin of Species."

All I will venture to say in extenuation of the conflict is that the fault appears to lie rather in human than in religious nature. Not without advantage to the race, all new truth has to pass through war to victory. All new views, whether concerning nature or man or God, must be prepared to throw down their gage, and be ready to do battle with all comers, before they can be received into the honored company of accredited truths. I do not even know that it would be wise to say, would it were otherwise! But if there be fault, the fault is a fault of human nature, not merely of religious nature. Religious men treat scientists no

worse than they treat religious men, nor, let me add, than scientists treat each other. Man is slow to learn that coercion is a poor minister of truth, just as man is slow to believe that all persecution for opinion, express or social, is ill-advised. Alas, that toleration is a virtue of such slow growth! Alas, that freedom of opinion is a doctrine more frequently preached than practiced!

In what I have to say upon the conflict between religion and science, I am anxious not to take either side. Acknowledging, and lamenting, the existence of the conflict, believing, as I do, that the conflict is based largely upon mistake and wholly on unwisdom, my desire is to say a few words as a mediator and peacemaker. For let men calmly and carefully consider what science is, and what religion is, and they will speedily come to see that any conflict between religion and science is, like so many great wars, the result of misunderstanding.

For what is science?

Science is not nature: science is the product of the human mind considering nature. The distinction is important. God creates nature; man creates science. Science is man's interpretation of nature. Nature is divine in origin; science is human. Doubtless, in endeavoring to acquaint himself, by observation and experiment and thought, with the facts and laws of nature, the man of science is endeavoring to rethink the divine thoughts embodied in nature; nevertheless, man's rethinking is *man's* rethinking. From the facts nature provides man constructs the science. Algae and fungi, mosses and ferns, horse-tails and lycopods, acrogens, endogens, and exogens of many kinds exist in nature; man observes and classifies these facts of vegetation, and constitutes the science of botany. The habits and instincts and structure of man, the wide world over, are open in nature to observation; therefrom man builds up the science of anthropology. Science, then, is not nature; science results when man carefully considers nature.

Now what is religion?

Religion is not theology. Again the distinction is important. Religion provides the facts from which man makes theology. Theology is the product of the human mind considering religion. In fact, theology is to religion, what science is to nature. Nature is the subject-matter of science; religion is the subject-matter of theology. Religion, like nature, belongs to the domain of facts, not of the interpretation of facts; theology, like science, belongs to the domain of the interpretation of facts. Like nature, religion is divine in source; theology, like science, has a human

origin. Just as the mental characteristics of man are open to the observer, whence man makes the science of psychology, so, similarly, the religious characteristics of man are open to the observer, and he constructs therefrom the science of theology. As nature affords the materials for science, so religion affords the materials for theology. Science is nature observed and systematized; theology is religion observed and systematized. Religion must be no more confounded with theology than science with nature. Religion is not theology; theology is not religion; theology results when religion is carefully investigated.

From these two considerations, namely, that religion affords us facts, not their interpretation, whereas science affords us the interpretation of facts, not facts themselves, some important conclusions follow.

One conclusion is that *religion and science cannot be compared*. They belong to different realms. They can no more be likened than a skylark and Shelley's poem on the skylark; or, to be more exact, they can no more be likened than the moon and selenology. Religion is fact; science is man's coordination of fact.

And another conclusion is that *religion and science cannot rightly be in conflict*. For, if religion is fact, and science is the interpretation of fact, no interpretation of fact can ever affect fact. In all inquiry we are compelled to assume the harmony of things, and one class of facts cannot be supposed to be in conflict with another class of facts. Indeed, any conflict between religion and science is very like a conflict between a lion and a fish, or between a book and a mountain which the book describes. The combatants belong, as has been said, to different spheres.

And upon this yet another conclusion follows, *the title of this paper must be amended*. Though there cannot be conflict between religion and science, there may be conflict between theology and science; and it would be a very superficial consideration of the momentous intellectual struggle of our times, if I failed to ask whether there is any necessary antagonism between *theology* and science. In the view of some thinkers, manifestly, both theologians and scientific men, theology and science are in irreconcilable antagonism. Nay, in the opinion of a few prominent writers, the battle is already ended, for theology, they think, has been relegated forever to the limbo of witchcraft and astrology and phrenology. The comfort is that some prominent scientific men cannot always draw the line between their hypotheses and proven theory.

Is there, then, *any conflict, any necessary conflict, between Theology and Science?*

I fail to see how there can be ; for, ridiculous as it may appear to some to say so, *the theologian is a man of science.* The grounds of the contention are readily put.

Again, then, I ask, what is a science? And framing now a positive and not a negative reply, I answer, every science has four characteristics. Upon these four characteristics there is a very general agreement. One characteristic of a science is that it *deals with facts* ; in the words of Professor Bain, "it employs special means and appliances to render knowledge true." A science, for instance, of the man in the moon is impossible, at any rate at present, because there are no facts to go upon. Another characteristic of a science is that it *strives to reach laws*, principles, generalizations, doctrines, whichever name be preferred. For, as Kant so tersely and pertinently said : "Concepts without intuitions (ideas without facts) are empty, and intuitions without concepts (facts without ideas) are blind." Science cannot rest satisfied with an unrelated series of facts ; its endeavor must always be to unify facts ; from isolated facts it must ever strive to rise to general knowledge. As Dr. Bain puts it : "Knowledge in the form of science is made as general as possible." Yet a third characteristic of a science is that, for scientific purposes, it *limits its view to one class of facts*. Mathematics concerns itself with number and space, not with life ; psychology concerns itself with mind, not with the physical forces. As Dr. Bain has said : "A science embraces a distinct department of the world, it groups together facts and generalities that are of a kindred sort." Science deals with all facts ; a science deals with one class of facts. A fourth characteristic is that a science *systematizes* ; it adopts a certain appropriate order in the investigation and exposition of its subject-matter. As Dr. Bain has expressed it : "A science has a certain arrangement of topics, suitable to its ends in gathering, verifying, and in communicating knowledge."

Let these four characteristics be present in any branch of knowledge and you have a science ; let any one characteristic be absent and the name of science must be withheld. Every science must treat of facts, must treat of facts of a distinct and related kind, must seek to obtain generalizations from those facts, and must arrange its facts and doctrines in a due order. Inquiry which does not deal with facts is speculation, not science ; a series of facts without laws is a catalogue, not a science ; an examina-

tion of facts and laws in general is universal knowledge, and not a science; an investigation into facts and laws which is not digested into system, is an encyclopædia and not a science.

Upon all this there is a general agreement. George Henry Lewes is at one with Bain; Spencer is at one with Comte, or even Kant; the biologist is at one with the physicist, and the mathematician with the exponent of sociology.

But if these four are the characteristics of a science, one may venture, with all modesty but with extreme firmness, to ask, *first*, does not theology deal with facts? *second*, does not theology consist of a genus of facts sufficiently well defined? *third*, does not theology diligently strive to pass from facts to laws? *fourth*, are not arrangement and system peculiarly manifest in theological results? If every form of knowledge is science which follows upon the blended use of observation, classification, valid inference, and due arrangement, is not theology a science? If, in other words, there are four factors in every science, namely, data, unity, laws, and order, is not theology a science, constituted as it is of these four factors? Really, that theology is not a science is one of the most unscientific prejudices of some scientific men.

And in this connection I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of Professor Huxley, who has written: "By science I understand all knowledge which rests upon evidence and reasoning of a like character to that which claims our assent to ordinary scientific propositions; and if any man is able to make good the assertion that his theology rests upon valid evidence and sound reasoning, then it appears to me that such theology must take its place as a part of science."

Can it be shown, then, that "theology rests upon valid evidence and sound reasoning?" Let the nature of the case be considered.

Is it not incontestable that theology has to do with facts, — facts as manifest and related as the facts of number or the facts of life?

For theology, which is the science of religion, is manifestly concerned with religion, and religion is itself a fact. I mean by religion that intuition of the divine which, universal as man, is at the basis of all the religious development of man. The universality of the religious sense is now commonly conceded. Religion is as universal among men as eyesight, or taste, or hearing. That some men are blind and some are deaf does not say that sight and hearing are not human attributes; and that the sense of taste

shows great diversities in quality and intensity, varying with inheritance and growing with cultivation, does not say that it is not human to have the sense of taste. Now with the facts of religion, facts as evident as any other anthropological facts, theology is concerned.

And another series of facts with which theology is concerned is the facts of revelation. By revelation I mean knowledge about God and man divinely imparted. Now the religious intuition itself is, and must be, revelation. I know that attempts have been made to explain the religious sense by evolution from a belief in the spirits of our deceased relatives, by evolution from animism, as it is called. But such an explanation fails to touch the very point requiring explanation. The actual point calling for explanation is, not that men picture the divine to themselves as they picture to themselves the spirits of their ancestors, but how they come to attribute to their ancestors a divine value. That the sense of the divine is in man at all is the point to be steadily borne in mind. Can the finite suggest the infinite? Surely not. All sense of the infinite must come from the infinite. All intuition of the divine, even though it be suggested by a fetich, must come from God. In a word, the intuition of the divine, religion, is really a divine revelation, that "light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

Let me dwell upon the point at a little more length. Man, as we readily understand, is endowed with eyesight to see, hearing to hear, touch to feel, and so he speedily arrives at a knowledge of the world of sense. Further, man has been gifted with intellectual organs which can discriminate and identify, and man has been equipped with an immediate consciousness of self; and so he speedily arrives at a knowledge of the inner world of mind. I dare to add that man has been endowed with an additional faculty, a faculty for apprehending the divine. Let the same parallels be otherwise expressed. When the external world comes in contact with the senses, they image that external world; upon this there is general agreement. Further, let the internal world present itself to what we not unintelligibly call our inner sight,—that sight reflects this internal world; upon this, too, there is a general agreement. But there is an additional question, whether, when the spiritual, the supernal, world approaches the human spirit, that spirit has not also the attribute of mirroring, of consciously reflecting, that spiritual world. To world-consciousness, as the Germans say, in its many phases, and self-

consciousness in its many phases, does not man add God-consciousness in its many phases? The point is not whether man can find God, but whether God can influence man. The question is, whether if the Spirit Supernal touch the spirit human, man has any means of perceiving the supernatural contact? Now, assuredly man is conscious of the divine. Evidence of the religious sense is given in the universality of that sense, is given in the consciousness of most men, and is given in that cultivated and inspired religious sense which is called the Christian consciousness. A sense of religion is a human attribute. But look what follows? The eye does not see, — we need not concern ourselves with the diseased or abnormal eye, — unless there is something to see; the fact of vision, nay, the existence of the eye, argues the prior existence of the external world. Nor can the mind perceive itself unless there is a self to be perceived; self-consciousness argues the prior existence of self. Nor can man perceive the divine unless the divine has approached man; the fact of the religious sense argues the prior existence of the divine. So must it be. The sense of the divine is itself the effect of a revelation of the divine. As Dr. Martineau has said: "All religion resolves itself into a conscious relation, on our part, to a higher than we, and on the part of the rational universe at large, to a higher than all." This conscious relation to the divine must be, I say, direct revelation of the divine. Knowledge of God, the universal sense of the divine which underlies all the religions of the world, must come from God. Of course this religious sense may be, like all senses, educated by use and blurred by misuse; but in its most rudimentary, as well as in its most differentiated forms, it is difficult to see how it is otherwise than revelation, divine knowledge divinely imparted.

Not that this general and world-wide revelation affords all the facts with which theology deals. Theology also deals with specific revelations.

For example, there is the series of facts which underlie the entire Old Testament, the facts of prophecy. Prophecy was specific revelation. The prophet communicated to man revelations he personally and consciously received. For prophecy was revelation, not divination. Soothsaying came from human presentiment; prophecy followed upon divine revelation. I simply indicate this very interesting series of anthropological facts. Now the facts of prophecy theology investigates and unifies.

Then theology treats of another remarkable series of facts

those connected with the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, the most stupendous and influential range of facts in the entire history of man. For man cannot be understood without Christ any more than Christ can be understood without man; and the anthropologist who excludes Christ from his view, or who permits his view to be guided, or rather misguided, by preconceived but not closely tested opinions, is a partisan rather than a man of science in that particular. Alas, the physical treatment of psychology has blinded the eyes of many a diligent inquirer to many indisputable facts, thus leading to a one-sided and partial psychology. And, alas, the physical treatment of anthropology fails to give due weight to many important anthropological facts, preventing a really scientific anthropology.

Yet another important series of facts with which theology deals I content myself with naming. I mean the facts, not of the general religious consciousness, but of the specific Christian consciousness. The entire history of Christianity, past as well as present, is the source of those facts. How real they are, how distinct they are, how alike they are, any expert in Christian history can aver.

Theology deals, then, with facts,—with the facts of general revelation and the facts of specific revelation. At least here lies the stress of my contention. If the religious sense, if prophecy, if the Theanthropos, if the Christian consciousness, be imaginations and not facts, then theology must be classed with astrology and necromancy, not with astronomy and chemistry. But if these theological data are facts, and facts of a distinct and definite kind,—aspects of religion,—then one great reason for calling theology a science has been found, indeed the weightiest reason. For when once it is conceded that theology occupies itself with an important variety of human facts, few will hesitate to say that theology is systematized; the common complaint is that theology makes too much of system. Nor will many hesitate as to whether theology deals, or not, with inferences and generalizations. It is true these inferences are called in theology doctrines rather than laws; but that these inferences are not mostly logical conclusions drawn from the relative data, it would be ridiculous to affirm. Not that all theology consists either of facts, or of logical conclusions from those facts; theology, like all the sciences, deals with science in the making, with asserted facts, that is to say, which call for further verification, and with averred conclusions which call for validification. But if hy-

pothesis, if the use of the imagination, is a much belauded instrument in physical science, it is difficult to see why it is a much belabored instrument in theology.

For these reasons, then (which are rather suggested than adequately illustrated), I venture to reaffirm that, theology being itself a science, there is no necessary conflict between theology and science. Theology is simply one branch of science, and the science of theology can only conflict with any other branch of science in the very limited sense in which mathematics may be said to conflict with biology, or physics with psychology.

And here I may be permitted to say that Mr. Herbert Spencer's treatment of theology has always appeared to me singularly inconsistent. To me it seems that all that Mr. Spencer claims to have established, in his doctrine of Nescience, might be conceded, and, at the same time, the inference he draws from his doctrine — that theology of any real kind is impossible — might be not only denied, but shown to be incompatible with his own practice. Mr. Spencer maintains that "objective and subjective things" are "alike inscrutable in their substance and genesis," or, as Kant would have expressed the same thought, that "things in themselves" are beyond our present knowledge. Even this appears to me an exaggeration of a great truth; but I am concerned for the moment with Mr. Spencer's positions, not my own. Now the ultimate religious proposition, according to Mr. Spencer, is that "the Power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable" (he means by us). But then, in Mr. Spencer's view, the ultimate scientific ideas are also inscrutable. Space and time, matter and motion, force and self, known in their effects, cannot be known in their causes. So, we are told, it is the man of science who more than any other truly *knows* that in its ultimate essence nothing can be known. Then it is not God alone who is unknown and unknowable in his ultimate essence; it is space and time, self, matter, motion, and force as well. Now in all this there is nothing new, at least nothing new to the theologian. That man cannot know God as He is; that a mental image cannot be formed of God; that God cannot be exhaustively known in the mystery of his being and in the infinitude of his attributes; that our knowledge of God is partial; that his thoughts are not as our thoughts; that we cannot by searching find out God, — these are the commonplaces of theology. If there is anything new in Mr. Spencer's contention, it is to the student of physical science. Now such being Mr. Spencer's theory, what is his prac-

tice? According to Mr. Spencer's theory, religion and nature both confront us, in the last resort, with things unknown and unknowable. God is unknown and unknowable, but so are space and time and force and self. But *should not such a statement land Mr. Spencer either in a universal skepticism or else in a tolerance for theology?* For, on the one hand, if the being unknown and unknowable in itself renders all real knowledge of a thing impossible, then not only is theology, the science of religion, excluded, but science, the science of nature, is excluded as well, for, according to Mr. Spencer, we know as little about the essence of matter and force and motion as about the essence of God. On the other hand, if some knowledge of matter and motion, force and space, time and self, are possible to the scientific student of nature, why is some knowledge of God not possible to the scientific student of religion? Either, according to his premises, Mr. Spencer must deny the validity of natural science, or he must concede the validity of theology. If mathematics may allowably deal with space (which is unknown in itself), if physics may deal with force (which is also essentially unknown), if psychology may rightly investigate self (another of the things declared unknown and unknowable), why may not theology treat of God, not in himself (for in his essence He is unknown and unknowable), but in his manifestations (which certainly may be known)? It seems to me that Mr. Spencer, if he would be consistent, ought to add to his large volumes on the Principles of Biology, of Psychology, and of Sociology, a volume or two on the Principles of Theology.

In concluding this paper, let a couple of probable objections be considered.

Thus, it may be said, *if theology is a science, how comes it that theologians differ?*

Let the differences of theologians be frankly admitted. And without much lamentation. For differences are inevitable in theology, as in all other sciences, so long as the perfect stage has not been reached. It is ever so. Knowledge is the product of conflict, for conflict is inseparable from the process of verification. There is an ideal theology, as there is an ideal anthropology, upon the way. Towards that theology, — one, true, satisfactory, final, — all theology is consciously or unconsciously striving. But the perfect theology is not yet. Not improbably, too, the very contention of some theologians, that they do possess a perfect theology, is the real source of much of the present conflict with and in theology.

But be it remembered that when stress is laid upon the differences of theologians, two considerations mitigate the inference commonly drawn from those differences. One consideration is that there is, after all, a remarkable unanimity in theological circles. Recently I have been reading with care four great recent systems of theology, one written by an American Baptist, Dr. Strong, another written by a German Roman Catholic, Dr. Scheeben, of Cologne, a third written by a Swiss Protestant, Dr. Gretillat, of Neuchâtel, and a fourth written by a very able member of the Orthodox Church of Russia, Bishop Macarines. Daily my amazement has grown at their large agreement, despite their differences. The other consideration is this, that, as is well understood, a science arrives at perfection sooner or later, according to its simplicity or complexity, as Comte would say. Thus no one expects sociology to be in as relatively advanced a state as mathematics or chemistry. Now theology is, and must be, the most complex of all the sciences, not excluding sociology.

Another objection likely to be taken to my line of remark is that *theology is non-progressive, and therefore cannot be a science.*

But is not such an objection the outcome of a confusion of thought? The facts of theology, it is true, are given once for all, and are non-progressive; but surely the appreciation and systematizing of these facts is gradual and progressive. As I have previously said, religion, like nature, is fixed, settled, defined; theology, like natural science, is ever best when advancing. And, as a matter of fact, the progress in theology during this century has been as manifest as in any other branch of science. The Bible has been born again. Biblical theology has grown to manhood. Comparative theology has been born. Indeed, the closing half of this century is witnessing as immense an upheaval and advance in theology as recent years have seen in geology, and largely from the same cause. Geology was insular; then the geologies of other lands and continents came to be studied; and geology had to cease to be insular and become world-wide, not without conflict. Similarly theology has been insular; each land and each sect has framed a theology of its own; but our commerce and our research have broadened our knowledge of mankind; and this enlarging knowledge is compelling theology to cease to be insular and to make itself universal; and naturally this compulsory approximation to the theology which is one and perfect is being worked out *not without disturbance*. In some ages the task

of theology is simply to raise the roof, so to speak, of an existing structure, or to add new wings; in this age apparently a larger work of construction has to be undertaken. The need is being increasingly felt of what I am accustomed to call an *international theology*. The world has had, and still has, many English and Scotch and Genevan and German and Gallican and Roman and Eastern and American and Buddhist and Brahman and Mohammedan theologies. The great need of the age is one scientific theology, — a theology one and universal, an international theology. Further, as is increasingly seen, two tasks lie before this international theology. The first task is to determine the sources of religious truth and their relative value, — to rigorously examine and to indisputably determine, that is to say, whether reason or Scripture, or the church, or intuition, or the Christian consciousness, constitutes the supreme criterion of truth, or whether, and in what order, some combination of these sources constitutes the fount and test of truth — the *fons et iudex veritatis*.

In brief, one task is to frame a Fundamental Theology, or Science of the Foundations of Religion. The second task is, by the aid of the principles established in Fundamental Theology, to construct a system of religious truth, building upon the theological foundation the theological superstructure. At any rate, any scientific theology must be an international theology, and any international theology must be scientific, meaning by scientific, framed according to the method which has shown itself so potent in physical science.

Would that theologians and physicists might work together, in the perfecting of man, without suspicion, without recrimination, nay, with respect and mutual esteem! Should, too, each keep a watchful eye upon the other, their reciprocal watchfulness can only aid the cause of truth. There is a great future before the science of nature as there is a great future before the science of religion. And happily the way to all truth is more sure than ever before, and more trodden. Many a height has already been scaled; many a height still stretches above us; let, therefore, theologian and physicist cheer each other, as they climb, with the constant cry, *Excelsior*. For wider and clearer vision of God and man and their relations to each other cannot but reward each upward step.

Alfred Cave.

HACKNEY COLLEGE, LONDON, N. W., ENGLAND.

THE REORGANIZATION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

THE superiority claimed for Congregationalism as a polity is its power to adapt itself to all conditions of society. It has not altogether made this claim good; for other denominations have sprung up in its path which have won the allegiance of the people whom it had failed to reach and have soon surpassed it in numbers. But this has been partly due to the willingness of Congregationalists to yield to and advance the work of other denominations. Its latent power has never yet been fully developed.

New conditions have arisen in recent years, rapidly changing the social life of the people of this country, which afford to Congregationalism a splendid opportunity. New inventions, new methods of doing business, new combinations, and immigration are effecting a complete reorganization of society. Can Congregationalism fit itself to the new order? The double problem confronts it which is absorbing the attention of all students of sociology. On one side is the tendency of the people to gather into large cities, and there, with constant shifting, to separate into classes, the rich taking one quarter, the very poor another, while the middle classes spread out through the suburbs. On the other are the country districts which the cities drain of young life, where the sturdy and intelligent farmer families of the last generation are being supplanted by foreigners of less capacity and lower moral aims.

This two-sided problem cannot be separated. Both parts demand consideration together. The cities rule, and if they are not purified, the nation will be destroyed; but they depend on the country districts for the maintenance and renewal of their life. If the streams that flow into them are left foul, the case becomes hopeless. Congregationalism must meet both conditions or neither. And this complicated problem, in its most difficult form, is before it in its own stronghold, New England, and in the older interior States.

The attention of Congregationalists has largely of late been turned to the West, and they have had much success in these new fields; but their work is not more needed there than in the early home of Congregationalism. It has more missionaries in Maine than in Minnesota, more in Massachusetts than in Kansas, and more in Rhode Island than in Texas. New Hampshire needs

seven times as many as New Mexico. There are ninety-five towns and plantations in Maine where no religious services of any sort are held, and more villages in Illinois without any gospel than in any other State in the Union. These statements are made on the authority of superintendents and secretaries of missions in the fields named.

No changes in the methods of church work have been formally adopted to meet these needs. The churches are organized substantially as they were fifty years ago, and their relations with each other have undergone but slight modifications. New methods have been discussed with increasing interest, till the topics now most prominent in associations and conferences present a striking contrast to those of twenty years ago; and results are seen in increased activity, better Sunday-school work, some spasmodic local missionary efforts, and the general formation of societies of Christian Endeavor. So great gains from these movements have so encouraged the churches that they are ready, under competent leadership, to make new and more radical advances in reorganization; but this leadership has not yet appeared. The stress of new conditions has, in some instances, forced new expedients. A few churches in cities have been built for broader uses than formerly, and are opened seven days in the week, with assistants filling various offices. Here and there may be found a country pastor who has begun some systematic work in neglected fields about his parish, and pressed assistants in an irregular fashion into service. But these efforts are so far experimental, open to objections, and require to be recognized as part of an accepted system, and brought into sympathetic relations with each other, in order to any large success. Meanwhile the fact remains that while great problems have arisen concerning the evangelization of cities and maintaining the gospel privileges of dwindling and changing country districts, the churches are doing, in the main, the same work, and by the same methods, as before these new conditions arose.

The difficulty of meeting these new conditions is heightened by the increasingly inadequate supply of ministers. The graduating classes in our seven theological seminaries are distressingly small, insufficient to make good even the places vacated by death. Nor do earnest appeals for men and generous offers of pecuniary assistance, sufficient with ordinary economy and exertion to maintain the student in comfort while he is pursuing the seminary course, avail to draw any considerable number of college graduates into the ministry. This is not because young men are more

selfish now than they were in former generations. There was never such a heroic spirit among Christian youth as is to be found to-day. Nor is it because the ministry as a profession is not attractive to young men.

But one prominent reason is because, under present circumstances, the great majority of ministers must accept narrow fields, with humiliating conditions. Brave men are willing to endure self-sacrifice. They court it. But they value their lives too highly to offer them up without hope of results worthy of the sacrifice. A single glance at the conditions is sufficient to discover the prominent reason why educated young men do not crowd into the ministry. I take the statistics of Presbyterian churches because they happen to be at hand; for the Presbyterian denomination is in much the same condition as the Congregational. Out of six thousand seven hundred Presbyterian churches only about three hundred have a membership of over four hundred persons each. Four thousand two hundred and eighty-three churches have less than one hundred members each, and of these, two thousand seven hundred and twenty-four have less than fifty apiece. The average membership of the churches is only about one hundred, including absentees. The "Congregational Year Book" for 1890 shows that there are four hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred and forty-five resident members in the four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine Congregational churches, about ninety for each one. A large proportion of these churches are in communities which are not increasing in population, or are where other churches are being organized more than sufficient to keep pace with the increase. The average minister, therefore, cannot expect to have the care of more than one hundred persons in his church; and his direct influence will hardly include more than three times that number. There are many laymen, influential in business or professional life, who have Bible classes as large as the average church membership. Can we expect ambitious consecrated men to choose the ministry in preference to such possibilities, with what the ministry has now to offer?

Further, the money necessary to carry on the average church, including the salary of the minister, cannot be raised without sacrifices on the part of some of the people, and devices which make the minister feel that he is in a sense dependent on charity for a support too meagre, which in business he could easily earn without the sacrifice of his independence. In addition to this, about one third of our Congregational pastors must rely in part on

missionary contributions of the churches doled out to them at uncertain times through the Home Missionary Society. To build up the kingdom of Christ is the most glorious work in the world, but who wants to feel that, after spending in preparation the choicest years of his youth, he is regarded as a burden by his fellow-builders if they must maintain him in comforts which they enjoy, and is liable to be set aside for a younger man at the time when his ripe judgment and experience best fit him for larger responsibilities?

But under present conditions every small church demands its own minister, and only in exceptional cases can two be induced to join under the care of one pastor. So other sources of supply are drained to fill the ranks of the ministry. The number of educated men in the pulpit is steadily decreasing. At Williams College the percentage of graduates entering the ministry has fallen from fifty-nine to fifteen; at Amherst from sixty-one to twenty-six. Fifteen years ago one third of the ministers of all denominations in this country were college graduates, but the proportion is now reduced to one fourth. From statistics which I have gathered I find that in fifteen States sixty-nine persons entered the Congregational ministry last year from other denominations, thirty-five of these being from the Methodist. Very few of these had had any regular training either in college or seminary. In some States the recruits were entirely from the ranks of uneducated men. For example, of the twenty-six new ministers in Michigan, not one had received a college or seminary training. Twelve had done service as Congregational ministers in England or Canada, or came from other denominations, and fourteen laymen were ordained. In our seven seminaries last year less than one half the students were college graduates; and an estimate based on quite reliable information shows that about one third of the new recruits come annually from the seminaries, about one third are ordained without any special preparation, and the remaining one third come from other denominations, the most of them with little training other than that gained by experience as preachers in country districts.

The proportion of uneducated ministers is sure to increase. At present about one thousand three hundred, over twenty-seven per cent., of our churches are "vacant," and the most of these are small country churches. They will find pastors, if at all, from men who have been employed by Tract or Sunday-school societies, or who have developed as Young Men's Christian Association or temperance workers, or who have shown some special

unction as exhorters in times of revival. Some of these men do effective service, and occasionally one shows unusual talent as a preacher and leader. But as a rule their pastorates are short; they do not succeed in strengthening churches nor in establishing them permanently in their communities. They have neither the knowledge nor skill to teach or inspire so as to make the church the leader of public opinion. Where ministers are intellectually weak, the churches in their care are weakened. Strong minds drift away from them, and from the control of their own consciences. The churches can never hold the masses when they have not the power to hold thinking men.

It does not seem likely that the "short course" institutions, of which so many are springing up, are likely to better the situation. The most of them are undenominational, not directed by any organized body, or by men of experience as educators. Each one owes its existence, usually, to a single individual who has a plan of his own for making ministers, and who with inadequate means, assisted by such temporary helpers as will give their services, gathers such as he can reach in brief and disconnected courses of lectures on such subjects as his available lecturers have already prepared. One of these institutions advertises this year as a great attraction to a very meagre curriculum a course on military tactics, apparently forgetting that "the weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh." Some of them, which propose to give instruction to Christian workers who will go back to their secular occupations with more skill to lead men to Christ, are so far beyond criticism, and do great good. Others have a legitimate sphere in training workers for other service than the ordained ministry. But under present conditions, the places open for pastor's helpers are so few, and the requirements for these places so high, that the necessary tendency of those in short courses preparing to be Christian teachers, and expecting to gain a support in that calling, is toward the pastorate as speedily as possible. The case is complicated by the fact that women are applying for ordination, and with such qualifications that the only objection which can be urged against their entering the ministry is their sex.

The condition, then, in the Congregational body, is briefly this: The majority of the churches are too small, and have too limited opportunities of growth, to attract to their pulpits as pastors thoroughly educated men. While the country districts are declining in numbers, and in many cases in the interest of those

who remain to support the churches, they need more than ever strong, trained leaders. The increasing distractions of growing cities call also for thoroughly capable ministers, with many more fields opening and inviting than are able to sustain such ministers. Attempts are made to meet the demand with men partially trained, or with no preparation at all. Present tendencies toward the growth of cities and the decline of country places are likely to continue and increase. Many feeble pastorless churches are asking for more financial aid than they can get, and ask in vain for ministers.

Is there any remedy for this condition? Can the churches be so reorganized as to be able to call to their service competent men, and to furnish gospel privileges to the small as well as to the large parishes? Can churches be so equipped in the cities as to secure the money necessary to carry on their work, and, at the same time, not desert the fields where the poor are living? Shall the farmers of America have such churches as enabled those of the last century to be prominent thinkers and leaders in social and political life, or must they sink to the level of the farmers of central Europe?

Statistics show that nearly one fifth of the population of this country are members of churches, which means nearly one third of the adult inhabitants. It is plain that there are forces enough, if they were properly organized, to keep the gospel before all the people. It needs only common sense, a common understanding among Christians, and suitable leaders, to meet successfully all the problems which confront us of evangelizing the masses. Nothing is more painful to contemplate in connection with all the addresses made and volumes written on the neglect of religion, the influx of dangerous foreigners, the desecration of the Sabbath, and indifference to the churches than the fact that everything needed for overcoming these enemies to the highest welfare of the country is in our hands if we only knew how to use our resources.

The first and plainest need, so far as ministers and other paid workers are concerned, is such a division of responsibility that each shall have full opportunity to exercise his abilities to the highest advantage. We need larger parishes, more orders in the ministry, more thorough division and subdivision of the field, and competent direction of the forces which man it. Various efforts to meet this need have sprung up spontaneously within the last thirty years, with various degrees of success. Undenominational

tional societies have multiplied, but most of them pursue some single reform, and make religion, which aims at the renewal and spiritual culture of the whole man, an appendage to recommend their work. Of this sort are most of the temperance societies, which have done much good. The most effective undenominational organization is the Young Men's Christian Association, whose country work has been too much overlooked, since it has been almost the only systematic effort to reach small neighborhoods without gospel privileges. Sunday-school societies have done some noble service, but mostly in the newer States and the territories of the far West. Local union enterprises are maintained in many cities, and in some country districts, but they, like the larger ones, are too apt to retain the name "Union," without real affinity for any denomination, and with a jealousy of all which makes them really more narrow than any. No sects display more of the characteristics of Ishmael, whose hand is "against every man, and every man's hand against him," than some of those which call themselves "Union." The difficulty with them all is that they lack the united and permanent interest of the people whom they claim to represent. They are not in any general or growing sense the Christian Church.

Of the denominations, the Methodists best utilize their ministry in cultivating the whole field. The Itineracy, under wise oversight, is a great advantage in occupying the smaller places. Many men are willing to serve such fields for a year or two, while expecting promotion, who would not be satisfied to settle in them indefinitely. The circuit is another admirable arrangement, one man having charge of several fields, giving successive portions of his time to each. Then the local preacher, occupying places too weak to maintain a pastor, the presiding elder looking after a considerable territory manned as above described, himself under the direction of the bishops, completes an organization which has proved very effective. Its great and growing danger is the ambition of men for place and honor, and the temptation to use the power of bestowing such gifts to control influence and votes, a danger which has been effectively shown by a recent series of articles in the New England newspaper representing the Methodist Episcopal Church. But the rapid growth of that Church, its increasing appreciation of learning, and its enlarging influence in the political life of the nation, present for our study an impressive object lesson.

The Presbyterian Church is waking up to the consideration of

this subject as a matter of necessity. The last General Association, looking at the twelve hundred dependent churches, mostly pastorless, candidly considered how the strong churches in each presbytery might care for the weak, the grouping of the smaller ones, where practicable, into circuits, and the employment of lay talent in conducting religious services in such places. A suggestion of what might come from proposed changes is furnished by a single comparison. In former years the Presbyterian and Episcopal bodies in New York have kept pretty close step. But in the last three years the Episcopal Church in that city gained about eleven thousand, while the Presbyterian Church gained three thousand. Dr. A. F. Schauffler points to a sufficient reason for this difference in the fact that the Episcopalians have one hundred and seventeen ordained men in seventy-nine churches and chapels, while the Presbyterians have fifty-four ministers for their fifty-four churches. One denomination is organized to cultivate the field, the other to cultivate its churches.

Of the thirty thousand Baptist churches in the United States more than ten thousand are pastorless. Their condition may be illustrated by their statistics for the State of New York, where they are much better provided for than in many parts of the country. In that State are eight hundred and seventy-six churches, of which four hundred and sixty-nine have less than one hundred members each, and two hundred and eighteen have fifty or less. Is it surprising that one hundred and eighty-six of these churches are without pastors? The "Christian Inquirer" pertinently says: "If in an army there were twenty more regiments than colonels, it would not follow that more colonels were needed, if it also appeared that many of the regiments were squads of but fifty or one hundred men." In the Christian army there are too many colonels requiring the pay of their rank, who, because the churches are wrongly organized, are assigned to the places of captains or lieutenants.

What, then, can Congregationalists learn from these facts, and from the tendencies of the times toward organization in other than Christian lines? I found last winter in southern Georgia a pastor of a colored Baptist church which is said to enroll over five thousand members. I met, with him, his assistant pastors and deacons, numbering twenty or more, in the largest and most central of their buildings, where he was instructing them in their duties. Each of them had his own local field, where he conducted religious exercises and visited the people, the pastor occasionally

preaching for him, and holding frequent services in the main edifice, attended by a large number from the outlying districts. The people are all poor, yet the enterprise is wholly self-supporting, as at least one dollar is annually collected from every member. Its chief pastor was for more than thirty years a slave on a plantation included within his present parish. Most of its members are ignorant, and many of them as difficult to lead in ways of righteousness as passionate children who have never known the restraints or inspirations of family discipline. But the church is harmonious and prosperous. Its chief pastor trains his assistants as in a theological school. He preaches sound ethics as well as the gospel of grace. He has the respect also of the white people of the county, who would turn to him with confidence for his aid if any outbreak should occur among the blacks, which outnumber them three or four to one. If such an organization can be successfully maintained in a church congregationally governed, with a scattered country people, uncultivated and poor, may it not suggest a means of relief from dangers toward which, as a denomination, we are inevitably drifting, while our constituency is mostly intelligent, and of average means?

The reorganization which I propose, then, includes : —

1. New orders in the ministry. Let the bishopric, to which now every pastor is inducted, be reserved for those fully educated, or who, by their experience and work, have proved themselves fitted for the larger responsibilities of that office. Let there be an order of pastors' assistants for those who labor directly in connection with the local church, or in dependent branches and missions. Let the order of deaconesses be regularly recognized and defined; and let laymen, who have developed fitness for it, be set apart as an order to conduct religious services as Sunday-school superintendents and local preachers.

2. A new arrangement of the parishes. Let each parish, as now, be independent and self-governed. But let it be enlarged as far as is necessary to make it self-supporting and strong. A country district, five or six miles in diameter, might contain one church centering around the largest building of the principal village, with several branches in charge of assistants and deaconesses, but with one pastor. The general organization of the whole body would not be materially changed by this method; but its effectiveness might be greatly increased.

A single illustration will suggest what may be done in country districts by this proposed reorganization. The town of Canaan,

Connecticut, has three Protestant churches and one Roman Catholic. It has been regarded as well provided with churches, and these as well patronized. Last December, in an informal way, a home department of the Sunday-school of the Congregational Church was organized, simply by the appointment of a lady superintendent. The church had less than ninety members, but from these she selected eleven assistants. Within six months eighty-five were enrolled as Bible students, all but two of whom have made reports of their quarter's studies. Several have become regular attendants of the Sunday-school and the church. At stated times the superintendent and her helpers meet for consultation. There are groups of women whom she meets from time to time, sometimes going over the lesson with them. All the members have been visited by her or her assistants. The pastor and Sunday-school superintendent have heartily aided the work. A Sunday-school of some forty members, in a remote part of the district, has already grown out of it. The members of the church have been surprised at the number of families hitherto unreached by them, and at the cordial welcome given to those who have shown interest in them. The church has added materially to its strength in the community.

This proposed reorganization is neither new nor untried. The pressure of necessity in the cities is compelling the larger churches to employ assistants, both men and women, and to open branch chapels for Sunday-schools, prayer-meetings, and other services; and the tendency is to elevate the subordinate organizations into self-government, as far as possible, and the use of the ordinances, while they retain, for strength and economy, their relations with the main church. It is only necessary that these methods should spread, should be adopted in country districts as well as in cities, and should be systematized. It may be that some individual pastor, or group of pastors, will lead the way in this movement so energetically as to form organizations of the churches which adopt it, and so make a distinct advance in the history of the church, as has been done by the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. Such enlarged country pastorates would prove an attraction quite as great as the more favored ones in the cities. In the last century the great leaders in our denomination were, during all their official lives, at the head of such parishes. They dignified country life and added to its attractiveness. They had peculiar advantages in training the people, and were perhaps more influential in shaping the character of the nation than they would

have been if their fields had been in the cities. It is more than possible that a social influence would follow this reorganization, whose good effects, when imagined, are most inspiring. In view of these possibilities, it is earnestly to be desired that those pastors who have tried these methods in city and country should meet and discuss their advantages, and form some sort of fellowship for improving them and extending them as rapidly as possible.

It may be objected that this plan looks toward the episcopacy. The objection will not hold if the plan offers better facilities for the larger triumphs of the gospel. Among the chief advantages claimed for Congregationalism are its ability to adapt itself to changing conditions of society, and to appropriate to itself whatever is true and found valuable by experience in other denominations, and its power to do this without changing its fundamental principles of government.

The plan is not only actively in operation in some Congregational churches, but is also unquestionably Scriptural. In apostolic times there was, often at least, but one church for a town or city. The church at Corinth and the church of the Thessalonians embraced all the Christians in either place, though there was undoubtedly more than one worker in each; and though there were but two orders of those ordained in government of the church, there were various offices filled by persons who had peculiar duties and responsibilities, as we learn from 1 Cor. xii. 28-30.

At any rate, the methods of Administration found by experience to be most effective and economical in spreading the gospel and maintaining the churches are approved of God. The method here discussed has been already tried with increasing favor in cities, and has been more or less loosely adopted at home and abroad in missionary work. Without some application of it home missionary work in our newer sections of country would prove a failure; in many older sections is sadly neglected. The practical importance of the subject commands attention. It is one, and perhaps the only, solution of the pressing problem of pastorless churches and churchless pastors; of the way of evangelizing the neglected corners and waste places of both city and country; and of providing for financial necessities. The question still to be answered is, Has Congregationalism life and influence enough to use such methods to adapt itself to the changing conditions of society?

A. E. Dunning.

BOSTON, MASS.

LEADERS OF WIDENING RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
AND LIFE.

I. THOMAS ERSKINE, OF LINLATHEN.

IN an age by no means poor in remarkable personalities, it is not too much to say that the personality of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen — as he is generally designated — was, considering all the phases of human life, one of the most remarkable of the present century. His very distinct individuality seemed, indeed, to those who knew it best, one of those rarely perfect flowers of humanity, which apparently blossom in perfection only at distant intervals, and under especially favorable influences. Like the glorious flowers of the tropics, they seem to show at least what our common humanity may yet generally become even on earth, and to give some hint of its complete future development when earthly hindrance and defilement are left behind, and we no longer “see through a glass darkly.”

No one in these days will be likely to deny the influence of heredity. And Thomas Erskine came of a long line of Scottish ancestors, distinguished for courage, force of will, intellect, and piety. He was seventh in descent from the great Earl of Mar, the wise regent of Scotland during the minority of James the Sixth; while his later ancestors, the Erskines of Cardross, fought bravely for freedom during the Jacobite conflicts. The third Lord Cardross, persecuted and despoiled of his estates under the Lauderdale administration, took refuge for a time in America, and established himself on a plantation at Charleston Head. Driven thence by the Spaniards, he made his way with his brother to Holland, joined the fortunes of William of Orange, helped to win success for his arms, and died, crowned with honors, shortly after. His brother, equally loyal to country and conscience, though somewhat arbitrary in nature, declined to take the oath of allegiance, lest he should thereby commit himself to approval of the constitution of the Church of England, and its connection with the state; but was nevertheless recognized by William as a firmer friend than many who had taken the oath, as, indeed, he proved himself by a long life of service to church and state. Of him Wodrow testified to his American friends, Coleman and Mather, that “the care of all the churches is upon him, if upon any since the days of the Apostles.”

But the Erskine family was not less distinguished in law and

theology. Thomas Erskine's grandfather, the well-known "Erskine of Cardross," author of the "Institutes of the Laws of Scotland," has been called the "Blackstone of Scottish jurisprudence." His eldest son, the Reverend John Erskine, D. D., was equally eminent as a leader of the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, and a centre of the best religious life of the day, — the friend of Warburton and Edwards and Cotton Mather, — a man of wide learning and culture, but first and chiefly, an earnest Christian, a devoted pastor, and an able preacher, whose appearance and manner have been vividly preserved for us by Sir Walter Scott in "Guy Mannering."

Thomas Erskine of Linlathen was a nephew of this venerable clergyman, whose personality left a deep impression on his childhood. Another uncle, his father's elder brother, was the possessor of the paternal estate at Cardross, and, marrying a daughter of the Earl of Elgin, settled down to the quiet life of a country gentleman. Thomas Erskine's father, third son of the great jurist, followed the same profession, and was known as one of its ablest and most honorable members. He died early, however, at Naples, whither he had gone in search of health, leaving to the care of their devoted mother his five surviving children, of whom Thomas was the third child and second son, born October 18, 1788. Their mother, who carefully watched over their training — herself marked by decided character and devoted piety — was the daughter of a Jacobite lady of the finest and purest type, — Mrs. Graham, of Airth; who, though she would never compromise her Jacobite and Episcopalian principles so far as to pray for the Georges or attend the parish church, was nevertheless inspired by a deep and gentle piety unmingled with any austerity. Some of the happiest days of Thomas Erskine's childhood were spent in his grandmother's pleasant home and under her gentle influence. He was born into an eventful time and could well recollect, though only a child of five at the time, the profound impression made by the news of the death of Louis XVI., conveyed to Airth by Bruce the traveler.

His father's estate of Linlathen was in the vicinity of the city of Dundee, about a mile from the spreading "links," which here border the German Ocean. The old-fashioned, rambling gray house, flanked by fine trees and surrounded by lawn and shrubbery, was Mr. Erskine's home in after life; but during the period of her children's education, his mother resided principally in Edinburgh, with the exception of a year in England on ac-

count of the ill health of the eldest daughter, who died early. These early days were pleasantly varied by sojourns at the homes of various well-beloved uncles and aunts amid groups of happy young cousins, in some of whom he found the blessing of his later years, as well as the playmates of childhood. The ancestral home of Cardross had specially happy associations, to which he affectionately recurs in later life. "I remember," he writes in 1837, "the last vacation that James and I spent at Cardross with our little dog Jemmy. . . . I remember my uncle and aunt walking among the haymakers, looking so kind and venerable, and so much loved and honored." And, still later, he dwells in loving remembrance on "lovely Cardross, fair and noble Cardross, with its grave square tower, and its trees, under which our father's fathers have played, and its beautiful extent of grass, and its seclusion and its simple peasantry."

At the High School in Edinburgh he studied under a celebrated rector, Dr. Adam, for whom he had a warm regard, and where he was no less repelled by the brutality of a certain notorious master, the "Willie" who "brewed a peck o' maut," and of whose inhuman cruelty to the boys Sir Walter Scott also speaks. His last school years were spent at Durham, in company with his dearly loved elder brother James. His letters to his sisters, written from thence, reveal a sensitive affection and sympathy, which we are apt to consider a specially feminine trait, but which was one of his prominent characteristics through life. In one, written at the age of fourteen, he says, in a strain very unlike most boys: "Do you know D—— never sent her love or compliment to me in her letter to James, and only mentions my name once, and then it is squeezed up in a small hole between two lines, and then she says that all sent love to Tom, but never herself!" In another he tells his correspondent to "tell Annie that I am much obliged to her for her five lines, though I might think they were from Jemmy the coachman or the dog Flora, as well as from her, as her name is not there and theirs are." Then, referring to the death of his "excellent aunt, Lady Hamilton," he says: "I know that D—— will be very much affected. Tell her to dry her tears, and to prepare herself for that place, where we are assured, all the faithful followers of Christ will live forever and ever."

It may seem strange that, with his strong religious feelings and theological predilections, Mr. Erskine did not elect to study for the ministry of the church of his fathers. Possibly this may be accounted for, in part, by the period of doubt through which, like

so many other thoughtful young men, he passed from the traditional belief of childhood to the riper faith of maturer years. At all events, at the close of his university course in Edinburgh, he chose the bar as his profession, and, after the usual course of study, was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1811. There he could daily see Sir Walter Scott sitting in the Parliament House as one of the clerks of the court of session, "the centre of a growing interest, as the identity of the great Unknown" was gradually revealed. "The Edinburgh" was in the zenith of its *prestige*, and Jeffrey and Cockburn — at the height of their fame as pleaders — were among Mr. Erskine's closest friends. The marriage of his brother, who went to settle at Linlathen, threw him the more into this brilliant intellectual circle. As it contained very little of the Christian element, it was natural that he should pass through the experience which he thus records: —

"I was brought up from my childhood in the belief of a supernatural and miraculous in connection with religion, especially in connection with the person and life and teaching of Jesus Christ, and of his place in the history of the world; and, like many at the present day, I came in after life to have misgivings as to the credibility of this wonderful history. But the patient study of the narrative, and of its place in the history of the world, and the perception of a light in it which entirely satisfied my reason and my conscience, finally overcame these misgivings, and forced on me the conviction of its truth." This latter ground for belief, the "self-evidencing nature of light," was that on which he always preferred to lay the greatest stress, though never out of connection with that first mentioned.

The happy and trustful death of a young soldier-cousin shortly after, tended to reëstablish his wavering faith, and also to awaken the desire — a strong and growing impulse with him — to arouse a like faith in others. This, indeed, he was soon happy enough to succeed in doing, in the case of another dying friend. But a sad calamity unexpectedly occurred to darken for a time his own life, and to test the faith he had thought out for himself, in the death of his beloved brother, a young man of great beauty of character. He had made the army his profession, and was, long afterwards, recalled by a distinguished brother officer, as "the best soldier and the best man I ever knew." His younger brother was devotedly attached to him, and, to the end of a long life, kept his memory fresh and green. More than twenty years later on, when mourning the death of his friend, the Duchess De Broglie, —

the daughter of Madame De Stael, — he says that, “she and our brother James were the most perfect symbols, in their persons, of a spiritual being, having a mission to fulfill in this world, and not belonging to it, that I have met with in my pilgrimage; they were both like what I can suppose glorified humanity will be.” Thirty years later he speaks still more in detail: “On looking back, through a vista of years, during which I have come in contact with many remarkable, unforgettable persons, he stands out by himself as one in whom worth of moral character, manliness, truth, and perfect regard for the rights, interests, and feelings of every human being, accomplished more in producing the sentiment of veneration, than I have known produced by all the talents, accompanied even by the average amount of moral endowments.” Such tributes gain additional value from the fact that those who best knew Mr. Erskine would feel inclined to appropriate them to express their sense of his own beautiful character.

It was long before he recovered from this heavy blow, by which, in his own language, his “heart was stunned,” and before he could bear to take up his residence at Linlathen, to the ownership of which he now succeeded. He was thus removed from the engrossing practice of his profession to the leisure and tranquillity of a country gentleman’s life, affording him time and quiet for thought and meditation, which were important in fitting him for the life work that lay before him. “Spirits are not finely touched but for fine issues,” and Thomas Erskine’s vocation was a far higher one than that of attaining the eminence even of a Jeffrey or a Cockburn.

It was characteristic of him, even then, that he could not bid farewell to his Edinburgh friends without placing in their hands a confession of his own faith, doubtless in the conviction that it was needed, and the hope that it might be useful. The paper which he then carefully drew up for private circulation was afterwards published as an introductory essay to a new edition of “Rutherford’s Letters.” This first of his published writings is marked by the clearness, purity, grace, and charm of illustration that characterized his style, and by clearly sounding the key-note of his future theological teaching, well defined in the following passage: —

“It follows that a restoration to spiritual health, or conformity to the divine character, is the ultimate object of God in his dealings with the children of men. Whatever else God has done with regard to men has been subsidiary, and with a view to this;

even the unspeakable work of Christ, and pardon freely offered through his cross, have been but means to a further end ; and that end is, that the adopted children of the family of God might be conformed to the likeness of their elder brother ; that they might resemble Him in character, and so enter into his joy. . . . He that *believeth* is saved, not he who *has* believed. The sole object of Christian belief is to produce the Christian character, and unless this is done, nothing is done. To resemble God is the great matter, but we cannot resemble Him without loving Him, and we cannot love Him in his true character, without believing in Him in his true character."

Mr. Erskine's removal from Linlathen was soon followed by the marriage of his eldest surviving sister. Mrs. Stirling's new home — Cadder House — was in the neighborhood of Glasgow, where Dr. Chalmers was then *the* preacher of the day. Mr. Erskine and he soon met, and a warm mutual attraction resulted in an enduring friendship, fruitful in spiritual communion and profit. Their correspondence extended through many years, and Dr. Chalmers's occasional visits to Linlathen were much enjoyed by both. To this new friend Mr. Erskine submitted the draft of a treatise on the "Internal Evidences of the Truth of Revealed Religion," — always one of his favorite subjects. The following passage will sufficiently indicate its aim and scope, though taken from a reference, in one of his later works, to the general aim of his teaching on this point: "When I ask myself what reason or right I have to believe that a man who lived in Palestine, 1865 years ago, was the son of God, in order to ascertain that in this belief I have hold of a substance and not a mere shadow, I must discern in the history itself a light and truth which will meet the demands both of reason and conscience. In fact, however true the history may be, it cannot be of any moral or spiritual benefit to me until I apprehend its truth and meaning. This, and nothing else than this, is what I require, not only in this great concern, but in all others ; for the only real instruction is that which helps us to perceive the truth and meaning of things, not that which merely asserts that such things are true, and insists on our accepting them as such."

This truth he was never tired of enforcing and illustrating, and this attitude of mind sufficiently indicates his position in regard to all systems of mere authority in religion, under whatever name. The following passage explains the difference between his argument and the "Analogy" of Bishop Butler: "His argument

converts even the difficulties of religion into evidences of its genuineness, because it employs them to establish the identity of the author of revelation and the author of Nature. My object is quite different. I mean to show that there is an intelligible and necessary connection between the doctrinal facts of Revelation and the character of God as deduced from natural religion, in the same way as there is an intelligible and necessary connection between the character of a man and his most characteristic actions; and, further, that the belief of these doctrinal facts has an intelligible and necessary tendency to produce the Christian character, in the same way that the belief of danger has an intelligible and necessary tendency to produce fear."

In his references to Christian doctrine, he says of a common misrepresentation of the Atonement: "It has sometimes been so incautiously stated as to give ground to cavillers for the charge that the Christian scheme represents God's attribute of justice as utterly at variance with every moral principle. The allegation has assumed a form somewhat resembling this, that, according to Christianity, God indeed apportions to every instance and degree of transgression its proper punishment; but, that, while He rightly exacts this punishment, He is not much concerned whether the person who pays it be the real criminal or an innocent being, provided only that it is a full equivalent; nay, that He is under a strange necessity to cancel guilt, whenever this equivalent of punishment is tendered to Him, by whatever hand. This perversion has arisen from the habit, among some writers on religion, of pressing too far the analogy between a crime and a pecuniary debt. It is not surprising that any one who entertains such a view of the subject should reject Christianity as a revelation of the God of holiness and goodness. But this is not the view given in the Bible."

This work was largely circulated, both in Britain and America, and a French translation by the Duchess De Broglie was published in Paris in 1822. Nearly half a century later Mr. Erskine received a letter from President Porter, of Yale, containing the following testimony to its "potent theological influence" in America: "My father, who has been pastor of one flock for nearly sixty years, said that that book had done more than any single book of his time to give character to the new phase of theology in New England, in which Dr. N. W. Taylor, Dr. L. Beecher, Dr. Moses Stuart, and many others were prominently concerned. The volume is still esteemed very highly for its arguments and its just

discrimination between the theology of the schools and the theology of the Scriptures."

In Switzerland Vinet was delighted with the little book, "its simplicity, its conviction, its ardor, its new and interesting points of view," and felt inclined to enroll himself a follower of Erskine. Dr. Newman, in one of the "Tracts for the Times," has recorded *his* estimate of its teachings, from his very different point of view, as a "very peculiar and subtle form of rationalism existing covertly in the popular religion of the day"; adding, however, that he has no wish to use one harsh word respecting its author personally, "not doubting that he is better than his own doctrine." Between the position of Erskine and Newman as to external authority there could be no reconciliation.

Mr. Erskine never married, but his home was never a lonely one. Five years after his brother's death, his youngest sister was married to Captain James Patterson, who left the army to reside at Linlathen, thus forming, with Mr. Erskine's revered mother and his sister's "sweet rising nursery of immortal flowers," a happy and united home circle, which remained for years unbroken.

During the summer following this marriage Mr. Erskine, having previously published another small work on Faith, left Scotland for a lengthened tour on the continent. He spent the autumn in North Germany and the winter in Geneva, visiting Paris in the spring, and passing from thence to the south of France and Italy. His many-sided nature readily absorbed all the varied impressions of such a tour, whether those of natural beauty, historical or literary association, artistic interest, or the still higher enjoyment of Christian communion with sympathetic souls. The letters recording these impressions are full of interest. At Hamburg he first met with "Mr. Merle D'Aubigne, — a faithful preacher," with whom then began a life-long friendship. In Berlin he made the acquaintance of "a young professor," Tholuck by name, with whom he wished he could study the Oriental languages. He visited the Moravian settlement of Herrnhut, and though on the whole it pleased him, his sense of Christian freedom compelled a protest: "It is very beautiful, no doubt, but surely Christianity was never intended to interfere with the natural relations of life and to force men into artificial communities, but rather to infuse its own character and life into those relations which already existed." He remarked the "antagonism to Calvinism" which he found among evangelical Germans, observing that while he "could no more separate the belief of predestination from his idea of God

than he could separate the conviction of moral responsibility from his own consciousness, Arminians have no right to attribute reprobation to Calvinists, and Calvinists have no right to attribute self-righteousness to Arminians. Both inductions may be just in metaphysics, but religion is not *a piece of metaphysics*."

In Paris, among other congenial friendships, he then first formed an enduring intimacy with the Baron De Stael and his sister, the Duchess De Broglie. In a charming little volume of travel entitled "*Arvendel*," afterwards written by his traveling companion, the Hon. and Rev. Gerard Noel, he appears under the appropriate name of St. Clair. In Hamburg he had been revising his "*Essay on Faith*" for a second edition, and thus indicates its scope and object: "My object in this essay has not been to represent a faith as a difficult or perplexed operation, but to withdraw the attention from the *act* of believing, and to fix it on the object of belief, by showing that we cannot believe any moral fact without entering into its spirit, and meaning and importance." In other words, there is little good in merely "believing that we believe."

After a delightful summer in Switzerland and the Italian lake region, Mr. Erskine no less enjoyed his winter among the art treasures of Florence and Rome. He wrote to his elder sister from Florence: "It seems most extraordinary to myself that I can, in the midst of such a world of death, of sin, and of sorrow, find enjoyment in marble cut into certain forms, and colors laid on canvas; and yet I really find immense enjoyment in it; I feel almost as if I had gotten a new sense. There must have been a most surpassing genius in those old Greek sculptors! It is not merely perfect beauty and perfect grace which they have drawn out from the secret treasures of nature, but they have transmitted to us their highest thoughts and their loveliest sentiments, all fresh and living and breathing as when they first appeared to their own inspired souls, in a form that cannot be mistaken, and infinitely more eloquent and imposing than any language." Writing to her again, when she was about to visit Rome, he says in the same strain: "Now just begin and study Raphael. Remark the goodness and the worth and the piety of his faces, separate altogether from the fine art and execution. . . . Have you drunk the spirit of the Apollo and the Mercury (falsely and foully degraded into Antinous) and the Laocoon? There is an eternity in all these things, — a vivacious principle of beauty and of nobleness that knows no age."

For Mr. Erskine, indeed, all true art, as all true beauty, was consecrated by the recognition of its origin in the Giver of "every good and perfect gift." During this visit to Rome, one of his chief interests was that of ministering to the needs, temporal and spiritual, of a poor Swiss artist dying of consumption, whom he did not leave till, in company with his friend Rothe, the German divine, he had seen the wasted form laid to rest, at sunrise on a lovely June morning, in the now cemetery overlooking the Tiber, with a united "*Lebe wohl! Auf wiedersehen!*" Another winter was spent in Geneva and Paris, where he diffused the influence of his large-hearted, loving Christianity on all with whom he came in contact. Caesar Malan and Adolph Monod, though differing from him on some points, were both valued friends, who had derived from him much spiritual impulse. The latter is said to have dated his conversion from Socinianism to a conversation with Mr. Erskine in the streets of Naples. Of M. Malan, Mr. Erskine says: "I love Malan; there is something most apostolic in his whole deportment, and his mode of instruction is in general very Scriptural. . . . I think his fault as a theologian is that he is too fond of dialectical language. He was most kind and affectionate, but our conversation was not of that kind which could be very profitable to either of us, *for we were arguing!*" Intellectual difference of opinion, however, accounted for little with him in the matter of Christian communion. This he could hold with Christians of all shades of opinion, — with devout Roman Catholics as well as with Quakers or Moravians, — provided they found only the essential element of Christian love.

He returned home in the following spring, and it was during the next winter that he began to hold simple evangelistic services in his own house at Linlathen, and also in a chapel at the neighboring village of Broughty Ferry, much prized by many. He also proved a true "Son of consolation" to many around him suffering from temporal or spiritual distress. From this time also dates the beginning of his friendship with the mother of the writer, the daughter of a neighboring clergyman, who had died shortly before. The friendship then formed, under the pressure of family affliction, and cemented by sympathy of mind and heart, as well as by the spiritual benefit which Mr. Erskine's friends always received from him, continued unchanged to the close of Mr. Erskine's life, unbroken by the removal of Mrs. Machar to Canada, her future sphere of labor as a minister's wife. During her occasional visits to her native land, their per-

sonal intercourse was renewed by visits to Linlathen, the writer being thus also brought into contact with the family circle there, leaving impressions never to be forgotten. One of the last letters written by Mr. Erskine was addressed to Mrs. Machar, the answer to which was read to him only a short time before his death.

But the attractions of the Continent soon drew him thither again, and October, 1826, found him once more in Paris, enjoying the society of Christian friends of all communions. In one letter he describes himself as communicating in the morning in the little English chapel, and in the evening with a little band of Waldensian refugees, of whom he says: "The characteristic of all these persecuted Christians is reality; and oh! *reality is everything!* They have found religion to be a thing worth suffering for, for they have found it a support under suffering; and they speak of it to others not as of a logical system, but as of a new life, a heavenly strength, a very present help in trouble, and a medicine and a remedy for every evil under the sun." In contrast to this, he had written to a friend shortly before: "Religion in Scotland is too much a thing of science, and too little a thing of personal application and interest."

After a visit to his friend, Madame De Broglie, at Coppet, he made his way to Italy by the Simplon, over whose beauty, even in November, he grows enthusiastic in his letters to his "dear cousin Rachel," his semi-maternal friend and counselor. In one passage he hits upon the theme of one of Browning's most striking lyrics, then unwritten: "I like to associate my friends with particular stars. There is something so sweet and intimate and confidential in a star. I love the stars. I wish they conducted me to Christ. Sometimes they do. Oh, where is that eternal fountain of light from which their lovely lamps are filled?" At Venice he recurs to the tragic reminiscences of past tyranny, adding: "All human governments *must* be bad, more or less, until men cease to be bad; but you know that I am a lover of liberty in its largest meaning."

He revisited Rome, where he remained for some time, and where his sensitive spirit was temporarily saddened by hearing of several family bereavements. "I don't go to see pictures and statues now," he writes, "but I can look at the blue of heaven and at the clear, deep shadows of the mountains and at the sunsets just before my windows, and I can mourn with the ruined walls. Well, the mountains shall depart and the hills shall be

removed." As the summer heat drew on, he retired to a pleasant retreat at Albano, where, with Bunsen for his nearest neighbor, he remained for some time, thinking, writing, and relearning German, in order to read Jacob Boehme in the original.

From such ramblings and quiet studies, he returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1827, to enter upon the most stirring and eventful decade of his life. During the next few years the religious thought of Scotland was agitated by a series of "sensations," on some of which Mr. Erskine's own teaching had a direct bearing. One of the strongest influences in producing a very decided change in the theology of the times, as well as in awakening conservative opposition, was the publication, in 1827, of his small volume on "The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel," which quickly ran through two editions, and was considered by Dr. Chalmers "one of the most delightful works ever written." A revised edition of it was published in 1870 by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. It is a charmingly clear and attractive exposition of the free and universal love of God, of the full pardon of sin, proclaimed in Christ, removing every obstacle that sin interposes between man and his heavenly Father, and of the power of that manifestation of divine love to enter into the heart of man, and to bring him out of that condition of alienation and self-dependence which is spiritual death, into the loving, childlike dependence on God which is life and health, or, in other words, *salvation*. How many needless disquisitions on the relation of faith and works might have been saved by the perception of this simple truth! Such teaching is happily familiar enough to us now, for such seed has been widely sown. But it was a language strange to the hide-bound theology of that time and place. The doctrine of universal love and pardon seemed like another gospel to men and women educated in the school of cast-iron Calvinistic logic, and naturally seemed incompatible with the definite statements of the Standards as to election and the "passing by" of the non-elect. Professional theologians, trained in a certain scholastic system, could not even comprehend Mr. Erskine's position that it is the very freeness and fullness of divine love, which, entering into man's heart, is the root and spring of a living faith, *that is, of salvation*. His position on the subject of Justification by Faith also seemed different from that to which his readers in general had been accustomed, as a short quotation will show:—

"If justification be a judicial act of God, imputing Christ's righteousness to believers, and if this act has no existence un-

til the gospel is believed, then justification is not received *by* faith, but bestowed on account of faith. It is a recompense for believing, and men are not blessed in the gospel itself, but on account of their belief of it. Whereas, if justification means the being made perfect as pertaining to the conscience, and having the conscience purged from dead works, then all is simple, for we can have no difficulty in saying that a sense of our own personal pardon and acceptance must arise out of a belief in that holy love of God which gave Christ to be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. Then justification is truly and intelligibly *by* faith, for it necessarily and naturally results from a belief in this love of God, revealed in the gift of his Son."

This seems simple enough to an untheological reader, but its very inwardness and spirituality made it incomprehensible to those who had become so accustomed to the outward and forensic view of justification, as a "judicial" process or "legal fiction," unscripturally separated from a real change of nature, that they were open to no other. He himself "looked for the opposition of all regular theologians, and for the concurrence of untheological Christians in general." And so it was. While simple hearts drew in the vitality of his teaching, formal orthodoxy in general indignantly repelled such views as "wild and visionary," and "error of the most dangerous description." They were denounced from many a pulpit, and a fertile crop of polemical treatises sprang up in supposed refutation of much misunderstood views. The refutations, however, are now almost forgotten, while the fresh, vital, spiritual teaching of Mr. Erskine has ever since, through a thousand channels, pervaded our religious thought and life. Many years later Mr. Erskine learned, for the first time, how deeply this book had influenced one who has himself largely led religious thought. Frederic Denison Maurice, in dedicating to Mr. Erskine his "*Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*," publicly acknowledged his obligations to him. "It is," he says in the preface, "more than twenty years since a book of yours brought home to me the conviction that no gospel but this can be of any use to the world, and that the gospel of Jesus Christ is such an one;" and in a private letter he added: "I did think it a duty to express what I feel towards you in connection with the part which God has shown me that I am to perform for his church,—that of testifying that the grace of God has appeared to all men."

But it generally happens that great thoughts newly brought to

light, are grasped and uttered by several minds at once. Simultaneously with the publication of Mr. Erskine's book a devoted young minister, the Rev. John Macleod Campbell, of the parish of Row, on the beautiful Gareloch, was earnestly preaching the very same doctrine. Mr. Erskine heard him in Edinburgh, and listened with delight to this young preacher of what he believed to be "the true gospel." Part of the succeeding summer he spent at Row, where a warm triple friendship sprang up between three men of very different characteristics, attracted by strong spiritual sympathy. The third member of the trio was the Rev. A. J. Scott, afterwards Principal of Owens College, Manchester, of whom Edward Irving shortly afterwards wrote: "A young man so learned and accomplished in all kinds of discipline I have never met with, and as pious as he is learned, and of very great discernment in the truth, and faithfulness Godward and manward." An accomplished linguist, a subtle philosophic thinker, with a varied store of learning, and an original, comprehensive faculty of spiritual insight, he long filled, at Owens College, the double chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy, and of English Language and Literature. Mr. Campbell long afterwards wrote of the formation of their friendship in much the same terms used by Holman Hunt as to the friendship of the three Pre-Raphaelite leaders: "That historical independence which we mark when two minds, working apart, and without any interchange of thought, arrive at the same conclusions, is always an interesting fact when it occurs, and it did occur as to Scott and myself, and also as to Mr. Erskine and me, and I believe, too, as to Mr. Erskine and Scott." Of the three thus closely united, Mr. Campbell may be considered the theologian, Mr. Scott the philosopher, while Mr. Erskine, with his warm poetic impulse and insight, takes the place of the prophet or seer.

This new friendship did not lack the element of trial to cement it. The theological storm which fell harmlessly on Mr. Erskine broke over Mr. Campbell also, and with more power to hurt. His teaching was declared contrary to the Confession of Faith; an ecclesiastical prosecution was instituted; "Moderates" and "Evangelicals" — the two great parties dividing the Scottish Church — united in denouncing the "Gareloch heresy," so called; and, despite the warm defense of a few stanch friends, including Dr. Chalmers, the iniquity was perpetrated of deposing this true and devoted minister of Christ for believing, as stated in one of the counts against him, that "God loves every human being with a

love, the measure of which is the agony of his own Son." With unseemly haste the sentence of deposition was carried by an overwhelming majority after a few hours' debate, the house having so much other business on hand, that this case must be settled before adjournment! Mr. Erskine — it need scarcely be said — was a grieved and indignant spectator. A characteristic anecdote of that night's proceedings has survived. The Chief Clerk of Assembly having been appealed to in regard to some point of order, declared in the confusion of his agitation, by a curious reverse of meaning, that "these doctrines of Mr. Campbell would remain and flourish after the Church of Scotland had perished and was forgotten!" Mr. Erskine turned to a friend and whispered, "This spake he not of himself, but being high priest — he prophesied."

Two days later a similar condemnation fell on Mr. Erskine's other friend, Mr. Scott, who held, along with the same views as to the universality of the Atonement, opinions on the Sabbath question similar to those afterwards advocated by Dr. Norman Macleod. He was as yet only a licentiate, and had, indeed, under the impression that his divergence from the Confession disqualified him for the ministry of the Church of Scotland, begun to study medicine, when, at Edward Irving's earnest solicitation, he undertook to assist him as a missionary among the poor of London. As a result, he received a call from the Scotch congregation at Woolwich, which again forced him to face the question whether he could take ordination, thus renewing his subscription to the Confession of Faith. He would have declined the call and again resigned himself to the life of a layman, but was persuaded by Mr. Irving to refer the question to the Presbytery which had licensed him. The case was appealed to the Assembly which had just deposed Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Scott's attempt to show that his position was Scriptural was interrupted as not only incompetent, but as an insult to the Church. The Assembly unanimously declared that, since Mr. Scott did not profess to believe the whole doctrine of the Confession, he was deprived of his license as a preacher of the gospel, and thenceforth excluded from the pulpits of the Presbyterian Church. Thus did the Scottish Church, by a fatal rigidity of adherence to human standards, and in practical defiance of her own principles of religious liberty, deliberately deprive herself of the services of men whose labors had been owned and blessed by her great Head, and whose influence might have done much to avert the unhappy schism which, ere long,

rent her in twain and wasted her best strength in internecine war. There were some more immediate results. Several earnest and spiritually minded young men, studying for the ministry, and sharing the "heretical views" of Mr. Campbell, felt themselves forced to relinquish this intention, and to apply for orders from the Church of England, to which they proved valuable acquisitions. One of these was the Rev. William Tait, afterwards of Rugby, and author of a valuable exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Another was the Rev. John Stevenson, author of "The Lord our Shepherd," and other devotional works, which have been a source of spiritual profit to thousands of readers. The fact that, some forty years later, the degree of D. D. was conferred on Mr. Campbell by the University of Glasgow, under the control of the Church of Scotland, proves that, in the intervening period, she had receded considerably from the rigidity of her position in 1831. She would have honored herself still further had she reversed her unscriptural sentence of deposition.

Agnes Maule Machar.

(To be continued.)

PRAYERS SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE.

OBJECTIVE prayers find their topics in the world outside the minister and largely outside the congregation. Subjective prayers stand in close relation to the minister's personal experience, or do not reach far beyond the people actually present.

The former deal preëminently with desires for the kingdom of God, conceived broadly as including the entire range of human action and endurance. They are the adjunct of an objective religion as distinguished from an introspective religion, — a religion that goes into the king's highways and penetrates to the hedges in search of men of all classes in all their belongings; a religion which regards the going of ships and freight trains in their ethical and humanitarian bearings; and which looks upon all industries as embodiments of spiritual forces, so that in them Christ is with men unto the end of the world. While they may have due regard to subjective states they will not allow the people to spend their desires on themselves, but wing their way into the fields where God is working in the calm and tumult, rest and toil, of the world.

Under such a view of the kingdom of God, physical conditions assume importance. The health of communities, the good order of society, the attitude of classes towards each other, the struggles of labor, the perplexities of capital, the temptations of rich and poor, the perils, hopes, fears of men, different ages and professional callings, how earnestly we pray for these when once we understand their relation to Christ and his work! Not a great interest of the immediate community, nor a great concern of the remotest people; not a department of human activity, educational, commercial, spiritual, escapes this vigilance, because each belongs to the spiritual realm as means of its development and final expression. To him who feels this the embarrassment of public ministrations does not lie in the poverty but in the wealth of objects in regard to which the heart would express itself to God. The public petition becomes the cry of a world. Listeners are made to feel themselves a part of that humanity whose minutest and apparently least spiritual want is under divine observation and care.

Subjective prayers, in contrast, occupy themselves with phases of Christian experience. They hover around the immediate relation of the soul to God. They treat life as an inner consciousness to be adjusted to the divine rather than as a great world current in which the individual is a participant. They magnify attitude above action. They ask for truth and light and pure affections, which they rightly regard as fundamental to holiness, but forget, or at least fail to dwell upon, the concrete realization of all these in neighborly relations, in homes, in citizenship, in devotion to the republic and the race. They give us to hear little of passing crises in the dealings of men with each other; of visitations in fire or flood or famine; of the toilers in factories, fields, and mines; of business successes and failures; of temptations to dishonesty in stores and counting-rooms; of street Arabs, anarchists, and political corruptionists. They are frequently born out of the sermon that is soon to follow and of which they elaborate some preparatory or collateral thought. If we study them carefully, listening to the same minister from Sunday to Sunday, we perceive that they run in the grooves of his individuality as much as does the preaching. They do not attempt to gather up the wants of the people, discovered by pastoral visitation, but are the narrow outcome of the speaker's private struggles or of his studies and methods of thought. Their variations are phases of his peculiar spiritual development, or, what is worse, they are reflections of his

physico-spiritual moods. As such they are removed from many of the congregation, who fail to catch their meaning, or fail of sympathy with their meaning when discerned. It often happens that features of the prayer are so abnormal as make one hope that few will be able to join in them, because ability to join would indicate unhealthy states engendered by false teaching or by contact with morbid growths. These individualisms are out of place. They do not touch universal wants with which mainly public prayers, as meant for all the people, have to do. A minister's personality must, of course, express itself in his spiritual progress, and play a prominent part in his moods, but to specifically embody it is not the office of public prayer. The man in the pulpit should be cautious how he calls upon the congregation to join in his temporary ups and downs, his perplexities, doubts, or philosophizings. Let him rather learn to join with the people than call on them to join with him. Let him find the popular want, that the people may see themselves represented in his petitions.

I do not mean to condemn all subjective moods and utterances. There is room for many of these in public worship. Aspirations, adorations, affections, — the inner life, — must find expression in our public devotions. But if they lack gospel breadth they will not carry all hearts.

We have need to emphasize the fact that for a long time there has been a growing tendency to subjectivity, and that it has gained an unhealthy dominance. In attending different churches I have been careful to observe the various modes of public worship, and peculiarities under modes essentially the same. In these visits and on other occasions my attention has been called to the office of extemporaneous prayer, in a spirit, as I believe, of sympathy with those who offer them, and at the same time of inquiry as to the adaptation of the prayers to their main purpose of lifting hearts unitedly to God. Comparing these observations, I am impressed with the excessive proportion of subjective topics relatively to the meagre recognition of the great currents of national and world life. The supplications offered in the presence of our congregations do not lay deep hold of the more manifest interests involved in human action; the rush of populations, the clashing of classes, the development of enterprises; nor even of those involved in the philanthropic and religious movements of the day. They reach inward but not outward. They dwell upon states of consciousness but do not wing their flight in broad sweep over the earth. I will not say that they

do not scale heaven, perhaps they do, but they do not hold up a struggling earth to the pity of heaven. The various classes of society rarely find mention. The servant is not led to pray for grace to do rightly by her mistress, nor the mistress that she may be considerate of the servant. Children do not often hear themselves mentioned, except in Sunday-school prayers. Un-counted Scripture phrases are at hand, expressive and appropriate to be used in petitions for the poor and for the rich, for employer and employed, for those who sail the ocean, for those who, till the fields, for housewives and mothers, for rulers and merchant princes, for fruitful seasons, for peace, and well nigh every good; but we hear little of these things, and when we do hear of them the lofty language of sacred writ is rarely the vehicle of their presentation before God. In former days it was the habit to weave the often highly poetic Scripture expressions into public prayers, which, for breadth of range and impressiveness of diction, are seldom equaled by those which come from modern pulpits. These quotations saved the expression of commonplace wants from that approach to vulgarity which has been the temptation of later times, and exalted it into a spiritual atmosphere. In place of such requests we now listen, more exclusively than is good for us, to discursive analyses of moral and religious attitudes, sometimes delivered in language and tone tinged with philosophy.

I suspect that our methods of theological thought and training are in some measure responsible for this. It were also a question of considerable interest how far scientific theories may have fostered the practice of confining prayer to subjective states, under a subtle half-belief in the limitation of its efficacy to reflex action, as if its reach were measured by the compass of the petitioner's voice; or how far our supposed understanding of the reign of law has confined our petitions to what we esteem the regions of spirit.

Certain revivalistic influences have helped to bring about the dominant habit. Twenty years or more ago, popular speakers began to tell their auditors not to let their prayers wander over the earth. They described with a savor of ridicule the prayer, until then common, which began with the church pews and ceased not till it had journeyed around the world. Then came the injunction to "pray short." "Pray for what you want and stop." We learned to stop. We also learned not to pray for some things we do most earnestly want, if we want the kingdom of God to come.

The long prayer of our fathers was faulty. Its length was a hindrance to participation in it. But if prolix it was well ordered and comprehensive, often sustained with beauty and force of language. We have listened to the modern substitute for it, without any relief from the old-time listlessness, until we begin to feel that it would do us good to hear one of our dead fathers pray.

Those who follow me in this writing will observe that the elements lacking in our public petitions belong to intercession. We may say that ministers and churches are forgetting the intercessory office committed to them. We do not intercede for the world, a function which the ancient church fully recognized. The early Christian assemblies remembered all sorts and conditions of men, and set forth the dependence of nature on the divine will. When in their minuteness the intercessions preserved in ancient liturgies entreat God to be mindful, for the sake of his people, "of the weather, the dew, the rain, and the fruits of the earth, because all eyes hope in thee and thou givest them their food in due season," they seem more in accord with an enlightened and sympathetic Christianity than those public prayers which concern themselves so lightly with physical necessities and the dependence of their supplies on the operations of divine will.

Far-reaching intercessions have not wholly disappeared. When one listens to them, as may occasionally happen, they bring a refreshing sense of the breadth of Christian desire and faith. I do not know to what extent the prayers of Dr. William Taylor may be due to his British training, but their richness of spirit is matched by their compass. He passes from one concern of Christian love to another until you feel yourself partaking of the mind of Christ in its regard for human brotherhood. I do not doubt that many ministers will read these pages with surprise and a protestation that their own conduct of public supplication is not here described. It is none the less true that the subjective prayer may be found without long search. It is prevalent, and will, upon reflection, prove itself the ground of complaints urged against ministers, otherwise acceptable, by people who cannot define the lack which they feel in the devotional offices of the pulpit.

It might be profitable to consider the influence of public prayers on individuals and classes who care little for our churches. I have no nostrum for drawing the masses, nor do I despair of attracting them. They will come if the kingdom of God is to come. In the mean time it is safe to assume that, within proper limits,

the more manifestly and variously the services of the church touch the interests of men, the more quickly and powerfully will men be drawn to them. We hear much of preaching on the live issues of the day ; what of praying over the live issues of the day ? These should be brought before God in the petitions of the sanctuary. Public prayer as well as preaching should show how deeply the heart of the church is touched by the moral and religious issues involved in the political and social questions of the time. It should show that the pristine sensibility of Christianity to physical suffering has not been lost in the scientific spirit and in the discussions of theology. Would it not move the heart of the multitudes to find the sensitiveness of a St. Francis represented in a modern pulpit ? Would it not be a source of comfort and a bond of affection should the laborer find his fellowship with the toiling Christ tenderly recognized in the worship of the church ? Would not a healthful influence be thrown over the conflicts of labor and capital by prayers embodying the New Testament teachings on this theme ? I think the perplexed capitalist, might rejoice to hear his wants presented to God by his pastor. Or, if we descend to less conspicuous matters, might not tired housekeepers and mothers be drawn to churches where the trials and burdens of the home were shared ? What a range of petition is thus suggested, and what potentialities of influence may be involved in frequent recurrence to things which, for whole classes or for single individuals, make substantial life issues.

Another question is legitimate. What would be the value of a limited use of written prayers in maintaining the proper balance between the two elements here brought under discussion ? We have tested the worth of extemporaneous prayer and are believers in its importance as an expression of vital piety, though most ministers in the non-liturgical churches have long since ceased to affirm that the habitual use of written prayers is inconsistent with vital piety. In the face of evidence constantly before our eyes that affirmation could only be proof of prejudice. The conviction is gaining ground among us that exclusive adherence to the one mode is as narrow as exclusive adherence to the other, and is prejudicial to benefits which might result from a middle course. We may at least concede that written prayers would secure the remembrance of topics that ought to be constantly remembered in public ministrations, and would check tendencies of pastors towards too exclusive occupation with phases of experience, in which they may be interested, to the loss of the full sym-

pathy of their congregations. It may be that the true use of the extemporaneous method would reserve it chiefly for occasional and local wants, or for emergencies of feeling and purpose that cannot be provided for in prescribed forms, and the failure to provide for which constitutes the defect of some liturgies.

Edward Hungerford.

BURLINGTON, VERMONT.

"IN DARKEST ENGLAND AND THE WAY OUT," —
GENERAL BOOTH'S SOCIAL PLANS.

THE significance of the Salvation Army is likely to be greatly increased by some plans which are formally proposed in a book of General Booth's, which will be in its first days of publication as the "Review" goes out. In writing the book, General Booth has had the constant assistance and encouragement of a gentleman not a member of the Army, who is well known for his literary power and wide knowledge of affairs. I send an account of the book mainly as it was given to me by this gentleman. The book is issued simultaneously in London and New York, from the Army headquarters.

The hope of turning Salvation Army enthusiasm into definite social channels had its origin with Mrs. Booth, who, most unfortunately, now lies dying of cancer.¹ For a long time Mrs. Booth has been impressed by the necessity of improving the circumstances of poor Salvation Army converts if they were to be kept from relapsing in a day or two. This feeling comes out in some of her earliest addresses, especially in one with the suggestive title "Compel Them to Come In." But she was not able to overcome the dead weight of General Booth's early training as a Methodist revivalist. Until so recently as the spring of the present year the orthodox position of the Salvation Army continued to be, take care of the souls and the bodies will take care of themselves. But, at last, General Booth has yielded to the momentum of events. At different times during recent social agitations in London the Salvation Army has been compelled, by mere human sympathy, to do something to relieve the need of the very poor. During the dock strike of last year the Army rendered efficient aid in furnishing food to the men on strike. Even

¹ Mrs. Booth has since died.

before this one or two food and shelter depots had been started by them. Another influence in bringing about the Army's change of attitude has been the slum work. It was found that the only hope of success with women rescued from the slums was in putting them to active work among good associations.

When General Booth finally decided, at the beginning of the present year, to introduce into the Army's work a distinctively social element, he immediately attacked the problem with all his moral force and all his keen and comprehensive intellectual ability. In a figure which he quotes from Dr. Hamilton, the Scotch divine, he has found that even if one have good bricks he may build a very bad bridge with them. He has now fully committed himself to the position that a man's use to the world and to himself, a man's moral and spiritual well-being, depend very greatly on the social surroundings and temporal conditions of his life. In proposing his plans, General Booth says that he does not expect at once to usher in the millennium. He is simply taking up a special problem. He does not now consider the helping of those who can help themselves. He is only concerned with the urgent need of the "submerged tenth." General Booth would include in the "submerged tenth" any person who, but for dishonest or immoral practices, or for private charity or state aid, would be dead in a week.

"In Darkest England, and the Way Out" is the title of the book. "Here," says General Booth, "is Mr. Stanley, who has been to an unknown country, where people live in an unhuman way, subsisting by preying on each other. It is no mere figure to say that there is just such a region in England. I know this place, its area, its inhabitants. I have been in it all my life. It is my home, my postal address." Having this acquaintance with "Darkest England," General Booth offers to describe it, and to suggest how the inhabitants may be rescued from their degraded life.

The book, which fills about three hundred pages, is divided into two parts, entitled "Despair" and "Deliverance," which take up one third and two thirds of the space respectively. Under Part I. there are chapters on the homeless, how they live, who they are, and whence they come; the workless, and their miseries; those at the verge of the social swamp, doing casual work, and living in a single room; the criminals; the vicious and drunken; and the children of the lost. The problem which General Booth is trying to meet is that of this one tenth of the population of England,

which exists also in much the same proportion in every country, and as much so in the new countries as in the old. He says the most we must attempt to do at first is to get to these people the ideal of a cab-horse,—as long as you do work you will be fed and sheltered, and if you fall down you will be picked up again. Some time we may hope to present the human ideal, but the question now is, may we expect to gain the cab-horse ideal for our social outcasts? Yes, we may; on cab-horse conditions,—that they be amenable to discipline, and willing to work. General Booth believes that the larger part of these people can be made amenable to discipline, and that they will be willing to work. The trouble has been that there has been no one to direct them. Orders must be given. Some one must have authority over them. "For discipline, I will answer," says General Booth.

The conditions of success which he lays down for any effort to meet the problem are: It must be a big enough scheme,—you can't empty the ocean with a pint pot; you must have as an ultimate object the reconstitution of the individual's nature; the scheme must be available at once; whatever you propose to do, you must not do it in a way to pull down men who are already doing honest work. Having this hope in him of being able to meet the difficulty through his experience in commanding, and believing that every man has some of the quality of obedience, General Booth comes to a consideration of the means to be used. For the present he leaves out of the question all of the outcast class who are taken care of by the state, in prisons, poor-houses, and asylums. He is not by any means satisfied with these institutions. For one thing, he would introduce the reformatory idea into English prisons. But now he tries to face only the more pressing difficulty of those who are not cared for at all.

The problem takes a visible form when a hungry, ragged man comes to you for help. You must not pauperize him. You must make some provision for him by which he shall be able to work, and shall be cared for, with the hope of his becoming a saved Christian man. For, much as General Booth attends to the large workings of his proposed scheme, he never forgets to plan for the salvation of the men with whom it is to deal. The scheme begins with the food and shelter depots already mentioned, which have already increased considerably, and will be increased further. The hungry, ragged man would be sent to the food and shelter depot. Here he would be offered a chance to work in the Salvation Army factory. At first he would work for his food and

shelter; afterward he would receive wages beside. One factory has already been started. There are now about a hundred men at work at wood-chopping, mat-making, and carpentering. A larger factory, with more kinds of work, is to be opened about Christmas time. A man of a somewhat better grade would be sent to the Army's Labor Bureau, now in successful operation, and work would be found for him there. In addition, General Booth proposes, for the first time, "The Waste Not, Want Not Brigade." He says that in great cities human society has extended its area and mass so greatly that its nerves do not penetrate into its extremities. In a village every one knows if any one is poor or in trouble. Another healthy element in village life is that waste is reduced to a minimum. General Booth wants to reconstitute the nervous system of cities. The Waste Not, Want Not Brigade is to be an effort in this direction. He is going to put labor which is now wasted to gathering food which is now wasted. He proposes to have a brigade of from two to four thousand men who shall patrol all London daily on this errand. There are five hundred thousand houses in London. From the waste of the richer ones all the helpless poor could be fed.

By these different means General Booth would test men as to their obedience and their willingness to work. He admits that there is now a hopeless residuum of those who will not work and will not obey. With a person of this kind he would be merciful. He would give him every fair opportunity. But, beyond a certain point, he would say, You are an incurable moral lunatic. He would forbid his having children. He would confine him in some pleasant place, let him have a cottage to live in, perhaps give some range of freedom, but beyond a certain gate, never. Those who should prove faithful would be transferred to communities in the country. Some of these would be agricultural and some industrial. The centre of the agricultural community would be a large farm owned by the Army, and operated in the common interest. The farm village would be conducted on the coöperative plan, and coöperation would extend between the agricultural and industrial communities. The industrial communities would carry on the occupations learned at the factories. They would also be managed coöperatively as far as possible. In both kinds of communities work would be provided for women, of course. At present the Army gives employment, in its binding office, to a considerable number of women rescued from the slums. It also does a good deal in the way of finding work for its *protégées* in Christian households.

The country communities would, in their turn, be training and testing places. The next step is the emigration scheme. Those who prove thoroughly worthy of confidence, and become able to do some kind of work well, will be put into the hands of the Emigration Bureau. The officers of this bureau will attend to the placing of the emigrants, and the care of them after they get settled. General Booth proposes to have at first small colonies, and, later on, large ones, in different parts of the British Empire. These colonies are to develop fully the principles of the rural communities at home. Coöperation is to have large scope, and the common ownership of land is to be strictly held to. The Booth family are all disciples of Henry George. An important part in the emigration work is to be discharged by the Salvation ship. The ship is to be commanded by a saved captain, and manned by a saved crew. The ship is, by intention, to be a sailing ship, so that the voyage may be long. At many ports on the way stops are to be made for the purpose of holding Salvation Army meetings. By the time the ship gets to its destination, those in charge can know a great deal about the characters of their passengers. This will serve as a final test.

Here, then, are the elements of General Booth's proposed system:—

1. The City Colony.
 - (a) The Food and Shelter Depot.
 - (b) The Factory.
 - (c) The Labor Bureau.
 - (d) The Waste Not Want Not Brigade.
2. The Rural Colony.
 - (a) The Farm.
 - (b) The Farm Village.
 - (c) The Industrial Village.
3. The Over Sea Colony.
 - (a) The Colony.
 - (b) The Emigration Bureau.
 - (c) The Salvation Ship.

In addition, General Booth would institute savings banks for the poor. He would have a bureau where the poor could get information about their friends in any part of the world, and where they could get expert legal advice in their troubles. He even proposes a marriage bureau. Objections to the general scheme, and to its parts, are taken up, and answers given. The last chapter deals with the question of money. General Booth says that, like

Gideon, he requires a sign, he must have dew on the fleece. He appeals confidently to the public, believing that he is offering a feasible plan for relieving society of a large and threatening problem. He says he must have a hundred thousand pounds at the start. When he gets that, with promise of more to follow, he will begin the work of materializing his scheme and putting it into action.

My informant believes that General Booth will get what he asks for. Any one who knows the wonderful organization of the Salvation Army will see that what it now proposes to do is by no means an impossible undertaking. Indeed, a number of the plans suggested have already been tried, and are now successfully operated by the Army. In the past, many people have contributed to the Army because they believed it did a religious work which no other body could do, or, at any rate, did do. This kind of claim will be much increased when it undertakes a great social work in a field where it has practically no rivals. If the enterprise gets fairly begun, it will, to a large extent, pay for itself. General Booth's great skill in managing the finances of the Army will, no doubt, stay by him. For one thing, the Waste Not Want Not Brigade will be a considerable source of revenue.

The Army will have a peculiar advantage in that it can give to the poor that continued personal care and sympathy which they need so much. The Salvation Army workers have learned to love the outcast. Of course, their chief concern has been to get him saved religiously; but it will be an easy step for them to learn to be anxious for his social salvation, too. The religious motive is primary in the new methods of the Army, as in the old. But the leaders are conscious that they will hinder their social work if they obtrude too much the religious element upon those with whom they deal. The benefits of the proposed system are to be open at every point to all who are in need of them, and are able to take them, irrespective of whether they become members of the Salvation Army or not.

Robert A. Woods.

TOYNBEE HALL, LONDON.

DOGMA IN RELIGION.¹

THE subject on which I am to speak to you, as already announced, is *Dogma in Religion*.

The association of these two terms may seem to some of you, it certainly would to many persons, to be unpromising, if not fatal. The main tendency of the highest thought of our time, it will be claimed, whether philosophical, scientific, or practically Christian, is to eliminate dogma from religion, to establish the latter's independence; to unite men in a fellowship wholly grounded in a disposition of love, and expressing itself purely in acts of good-will.

I recognize, I desire to appreciate, the truth there is in this claim. It may, at least, guard us from a dogmatism in our discussion which ignores the facts of the present situation, and which fails to recognize approved methods of investigation. It suggests that here, as elsewhere, we must first be disciples in order to be teachers; that whatever our attainments we must never let go the task of inquiry, and that openness of mind is a constant factor in the discovery of truth.

It may suggest something more; namely, that there is an ultimate question whether religion necessarily involves dogma, or can ever regard it as anything more than one of many auxiliaries which it may use according to the necessities of its struggle for existence or expansion. This is a fair question. I do not preclude it, nor close it, by the form in which I have stated my subject.

On the other hand, it is equally fair not to start with a mere prejudice, with an unreasoned and invalidated conclusion, or a one-sided prepossession against dogma. It is necessary carefully to consider what we mean by dogma, what is the prevailing spirit of the times, and its highest tendency. We may not assume that it is purely anti-dogmatic. And what is the upper current in our skies? We need careful observation to determine, for when clouds hang low and hang high, we may not always see at first glance either which are superior, or what is their direction.

Our age is sometimes called agnostic; yet I doubt if the epithet is supremely significant. Its leading agnostic, Mr. Herbert Spencer, as Professor Carroll Everett has pointed out, is more properly

¹ The following paper was prepared and delivered as the opening Lecture of the Seminary Year at Andover.

designated as a gnostic. Certainly his attempt at a universal science of the known universe evinces a marvelous reach and grasp of the human reason, and implies a range and depth of attainable knowledge which it is impossible to discern and not be impelled to accredit the power which acquires and validates it with capacity for something more. And though it carefully discriminates the realm of the known from that of the unknown, and remands the great objects of religious trust and hope to the latter, the very discrimination implies a knowledge of the unknown which amounts to a refutation of its agnosticism down to its deepest root.

It would be more just to describe our time as ruled by the critical method of inquiry.

Unquestionably Kant's philosophy made a new epoch in thought. Without doubt the previous introduction of the inductive method in investigation and its triumphs in the discoveries of natural science have affected every department of knowledge. Equally true is it that the methods of natural science, and perhaps still more men's absorption in the laws and the gains which belong to the realm of nature as distinct from that of the spirit, have generated a certain atmosphere of thought and conditions of life out of which may readily arise, and sometimes does arise, a dulled perception of spiritual truth, and a habit of mind more or less pronouncedly materialistic.

But neither of these phases fully represents our time, much less its highest aim. Materialism in thought and life there is abundance of, but its dominance is disputed in every field where it exists. It does not reign in science or philosophy, and religion is its deadly foe.

In science the critical method is not the inductive over again, but a synthesis of that with the deductive. It aims to establish its own positive canons of investigation and criteria of truth, and is not founded in a despair of truth, but in belief in it and love for it. In philosophy it is easy for us to be misled by fleeting phenomena, and to be distressed or perplexed by passing uncertainties. The Kantian criticism is essentially and permanently a challenge and stimulus as to method, rather than a teacher of skepticism or a parent of agnosticism. One who marks the development of modern philosophy with penetration and insight, I cannot but suspect, and I trust without pretension may even affirm, will clearly discern beneath the succession of systems, and through the whole modern development, a consciousness, which

cannot be long and seriously disturbed, of three abiding realities, the soul, the universe, and God. The critical question in philosophy becomes, that is, a question of the method of knowledge; the reality abides.

This much, without doubt, I may claim; the spirit of our time does not bring us to our theme committed to a prejudgment adverse to dogma in religion. The question is, at least, an open one.

Some respect, also, — certainly, as against a mere prejudice, — is due to experience in this matter.

It is quite universally agreed that Christianity is the highest form of religion. To accept in its place any other known religion would be to retrograde. It cannot be questioned any more that thus far Christianity has been singularly productive of religious dogma. Whether this is essential to it or not, it has always been one distinctive mark of its appearance and vitality. Leibnitz, long ago, called attention to this fact. The late broad-minded and widely-sympathetic Dean of Westminster, Arthur Stanley, has noticed that the symbol of Christianity is not a rite but a creed — the *Symbolum Apostolicum*. All along its history has arisen dogmatic controversy, and, whatever evils are thus suggested, these discussions show the constant impulse of a dogmatic principle. The abuse is granted, but how account for the use, for the constant fact? If it be said that it is due to a debasement of Christianity as a religion, we seem to put into this religion a principle of debasement; for there is no surer or more scientific way of determining the principle of a system than by observing its constant working. If it be said that it is due to the endeavor of Christianity to adjust itself to its environment, to avail itself of auxiliary forces, the question is, What is there in Christianity that prompts to such an adjustment, or enables it to use such an ally? If Christianity, constantly, throughout its past history, has been a dogmatic faith, there certainly is a presumption that this is one of its essential characteristics, and that the attempt to set up an undogmatic Christianity may involve an anti-Christian tendency and spirit.

Much here, however, doubtless depends on what we mean by dogma.

Professor Harnack, in his able and elaborate history of Christian Dogma just completed, dates the birth of Christian Doctrine at the turning-point between the third and fourth centuries of our era, and its decease at the Reformation. There is, indeed, he

recognizes, a further development in the Roman Catholic Church, as seen in the decrees of Trent and in the Vatican dogma of papal infallibility. But this is only a continuation of a process with which in principle, though not with practical thoroughness, Protestantism has completely broken. This view of the Christian history is maintained, however, by the aid, or on the basis, of a particular conception of dogma. The word denotes, it is assumed, a scientific formulation of Christian truth. A dogma is something coined in the mint of reflection and conception for an apologetic purpose. It is valid in the churches as a statement of revealed truth, and its acceptance is necessary to salvation. Yet it is not an immediate truth of the Christian life, a necessary element in the experience produced by the gospel, a principle of love and all goodness, but a theological proposition which lies outside of the sphere of character, and is not an outcome of religious faith but of a philosophical interpretation of Christianity.

If we accept this definition of dogma and rendering of history our discussion is easily concluded. That cannot be a necessary element of Christianity which was unknown to it in the centuries of its origin and of its conquest of the Empire, and is but an incident of its history. If dogma is simply Mediævalism, and indeed merely what is transient in Mediævalism, it is not an element of a religion which is for all time, and which enshrines an eternal good.

I cannot but think, without accepting his conception of dogmatic history, that Dr. Harnack is quite right in his position that there is an inward hostility of Protestantism to dogma in the mediæval interpretation of it. It is only in this way that we can explain the almost universal association with the word of something foreign to religion, something at any rate destitute of religious authority, and it may be savoring of assumption. Once the word stood for the gospel itself in the truth and divine sanction of its teaching. It was an infallible interpretation of an infallible revelation. Now, the word has a wholly different implication. We speak of the dogmas of a school, of a sect, of a church, and by the very phrase indicate that they are not to us Christianity, or an authoritative version of the gospel. Protestants habitually characterize the tenets of the Roman Church which they reject as the dogmas of Rome. Those who dispute Pauline teachings call them Paul's dogmas. If Jesus be regarded as merely a fallible man, his teachings are likely to be regarded as more or less clouded with Jewish dogma. When the dogmas

of a particular church are opposed the word often carries with it a distinct suggestion of an assumption of authority in their assertion. The Reformation was doubtless in part a revolt from dogmas and a repudiation of their authority, and so it comes about that any religious belief a Protestant opposes becomes to him a dogma.

The truth is, as Dr. Harnack contends, the Reformation *set up the gospel*. If dogma is not rooted in the gospel, is not a natural, legitimate outgrowth of it, Protestantism is hostile to dogma.

It is by this principle that much hostility to dogma can be explained. Propositions are presented for acceptance which are not recognized as belonging to the gospel, or which are seen to be at variance with it. There is revolt, and the spirit of revolt is not always controlled itself by the gospel it would recover.

There is one other reason why in the Protestant world there is so much of a departure from the old regard for dogma. We are measurably emancipated from the trammels of ecclesiasticism. The world is wiser to us than to our fathers. Character, the fruit of the gospel, pure and simple goodness, honor, charity, service of God and men, spring up on very different soils. True men and women are found under diverse conditions and forms of religious education. It takes much more than a creed to make a Christian, and we cannot but recognize beautiful Christian lives where our intellectual rendering of Christianity is rejected.

But it is not *our* dogma which is now under consideration, but whether religion involves dogma. Has any one known such a Christian as I have just recognized, in the formation of whose character truth had no part, and how will you discriminate truth from dogma?

The problem of dogma in religion is, I apprehend, in part a question of the ultimate basis or germ of knowledge and of the content of religious faith, in part a question of authority.

We are coming to understand that faith lies at the foundation of all science, philosophy, knowledge. This basis is sometimes called an assumption. It is really a belief, a personal trust, a faith. I cannot accept the results of my own experience, or the conclusions of my reason, or the intuitions of my ethical or spiritual nature, without crediting with truthfulness the powers by which I gain this knowledge. Indeed, experience is an empty word unless it implies a trustworthy power of perceiving relationships, and making combinations, and discerning an identity in the variety, a unity in the plurality or multiplicity.

Science is ultimately faith equally with religion. The difference lies in method of development, or in stage of progress, or in point of view, or in aim. Religion requires a more constant use of faith, deals with objects and relations in which trust is ever demanded, elicited, fortified, expanded, looks at all things from the point of view of personality, and turns all truth into character. Science moves on secondary and derivative planes, analyzes and combines given materials, works by approximate and constantly changing summations of gains through investigation, marks its stages by hypotheses and its fabrics by the name of laws, aims at orderly knowledge through the impulse, guidance, and sanction of a purpose which is unintelligible, as I have said, save as there is an implication of faith. Faith comprehends both science and religion. They have the same root, though there may be moral trust without scientific knowledge. The difference, however, between faith and science is not that the latter is purely intellectual, while the former is purely voluntary; both involve an exercise of volition, and each is a form of knowledge. The distinction appears most sharply in their respective ends — the aim of the one being obedience and love, of the other truth. As involving an intellectual element, an assent of the understanding, as well as a consent of the will, religious faith can become, and tends to become, scientific faith. Scientific faith is impossible without religious. To put dogma, even in its most restricted definition, as when it signifies a theological proposition, into antagonism to faith, and to brand it as a corruption of religion, or a perversion of its natural development and proper aim, is to ignore the fundamental unity of truth, and the ultimate basis of knowledge.

This primordial faith, in its fundamental character and form, is ethical and religious. A man believes in himself, and in an objective world of truth and reality, in the last analysis, because there blends with, or makes up and controls, his own consciousness a universal consciousness — be his universe larger or smaller — which gives reality to self in experience because it is the truth and reality in which all things live and move and have their being.

So far, moreover, as I can discover it is one of the most assured results of the comparative study of religion, — a science still in its beginnings, though of wonderful rapidity of growth, — that man's religious history is inexplicable, save upon the supposition of an immediate working within it, and upon the human spirit, of the Divine Spirit. One theory after another in swift succession has

appeared to explain the phenomena — the psychological, the historical, the stress of human needs and conflicts, the struggle for life, — but however much or little may be gained in each toward a clearer and fuller knowledge, neither alone, nor all combined, do more than exhibit individual factors in the development and particular modes of operation marking special stages, while the fact remains unexplained of the universality, the tenacity, the indestructibleness, the imperativeness, the all-encompassing authority of man's religious faith. Corrupted it may be, reduced or heightened with the fall or rise of his spirit, yet a man must unmake himself to get rid of it. It is not in his power to destroy it, for it is more than he; it is not in his power to get rid of it, for it is wherever he is.

And is not another fact well-nigh equally conspicuous, the fact of human sinfulness. There is everywhere light, yet it streams through media which refract and color its rays, or so obscure their brightness that the light is as darkness. Everywhere are the two penalties of sin which Augustine long ago described, *ignorance and difficulty*. What we call special revelation is simply God's method of removing these penalties, giving a true knowledge of Himself, removing the obstacles, or lending the powers requisite to overcome them.

The method chosen for this purpose is historical revelation; revelation, I mean, by a divine entrance into the sinful current and movement of human history. "Made in the likeness of *sinful flesh*," is Paul's account. The distinctive note of history is personality. Special divine revelation, or that revelation which undertakes to alter the direction, to purify the stream of human history, must work through that which is thus characteristic. It comes through patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs. The chapter in the New Testament which describes faith is a roll-call. Such a revelation naturally culminates in a Person, — the Personality who is the pivot of history, its Alpha and Omega, its inward principle and its end. Theology is a Christology, because it has to do with a historical revelation, whose centre and circumference is the revelation of God in the Person of the Son. And faith is Christian as it appropriates this revelation.

I mark, then, as the essential content of Christian faith, some apprehension of this presence of God in human history, informing human personality as to his true nature over against its sin, and at the same time meeting the difficulties that become clearer and more arduous the ampler is the revelation. Such a pres-

ence has a twofold condition and method of operation. It must individuate and objectify itself in order to meet and recover man according to his own nature and on his own plane of being and ethical activity. It would change history, according to the law of history, or as history alone can be changed. The essence of history is personality. Personality means ethical liberty, action from intelligence, moral character, play of motive and freedom of choice. Revelation is according to this law of personality. It works through motive. It must also be real and not merely formal — an in-being or communication of God in the disclosure, and not merely a communication *about* Him.

There is in all divine, ethical, religious, spiritual motivity a double character — a material and a formal or ideal, a fact and a quality, a body and a spirit.

The revelation we are considering, let me repeat, is a revelation of God as related to human sin and recovery — removing the penalty of ignorance, conquering that of difficulty; and it operates historically and ethically, that is, as motive. It has embodiment, it is an angel's word to a patriarch, the vision of a prophet, the word of God, the manifestation in Christ. But it also has quality. If it is really to bring God to us, and us to God, it must fall upon our ear as the voice of God; it must rule our spirit with a divine authority; it must be the burning eye, the radiant countenance, the ineffable love, the living Presence of God. It must tell us surely, authoritatively, divinely, that our sins are forgiven, that God is our Helper, that to be at one with Him and like Him is our portion. And this quality of revelation is purely and simply the work of the Spirit, that Spirit which, working everywhere, saves the human spirit in its capacity for religion, and stimulates it to effort to find some supply of its need, and which, working now on the line of a specially designed historical revelation, uses it to meet that need and makes of its evangel a demonstration in spirit and power.

In this twofold character revelation is at once something to be grasped by intelligence in the realm of outward fact, and on the plane of organic human life, and to be verified there, and something to be experienced in vital communication from the Maker and Father of all Spirits, and so to be attested by being realized in the realm of the Spirit. Mysticism is contravened or controlled by the fact of outward revelation. Reality, the deepest reality, the touch and power of the living God, is gained through the continuous personal agency of the same Spirit that inspired

the chosen organs of revelation and dwelt in fullness in the Incarnate Word.

Thus the content of faith is truth about God, transformed into the reality of his Presence, even as that Presence was known to Christ. And this, I suppose, is what Martin Luther saw when he said, if I may trust another's reference, that the foundation of Christianity is in these words : —

“ All things are delivered unto me of my Father : and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father ; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.”

You notice how clear here is the recognition of faith, or Christianity, or the Christian religion, as a knowledge, and as a knowledge of God.

And it becomes evident thereby, does it not, that Christ's own description, or definition, of his religion implies that it contains at least the germ or principle of dogma ?

This seems to me to take us a long way on to a reasonably complete and adequate solution of our problem. If Christianity can in any true sense be defined as knowledge, and this the highest knowledge, a knowledge of God, there is no question that truth concerning God is something essential to religion.

It is also equally clear from our Saviour's language, and from his whole method of instituting his religion through his Apostles, as well as from his own position in the stream of history, his relation to the past as well as to what was to follow, that this truth is not something subjective, mystical, individual, but something deliverable, communicable, universal. The great commission : Go, disciple all nations, baptizing them into that name of God which, itself a revelation, is the beginning and model of the church's creed ; Go, disciple all, teaching them my commands, — this testimony is a witness to us of the same principle of inherent, teachable truth.

This suggests a further thought, that as the essential content of Christian faith is a knowledge of God as revealed in Christ, the explication of this knowledge is simply a more full realization of what is thus given in principle. And here we begin to touch what I suppose are the more distinctive lines or notes of Christian dogma.

The content of faith, I have maintained, is a revealed Person, the wisdom and power of God for human recovery and perfection. In its letter and form it is a word of God spoken at sundry

times and in divers manners. It is the record of the accumulated divine communications and personal experiences of many generations. It is the Life of Christ from his advent to his glorification. It is the beginning of the Christian society, the principles of its structure, the normative interpretation of its life, the prophecy of its destiny. Yet everything groups around one centre: "We love Him because He *first* loved us." The *end* is a kingdom of God, in which He is all, and in all.

The church's creed was in the beginning a personal response to the name of God. This creed could not but grow. You can count up laws, you can sum up precepts, you can measure and gauge requirements; but you can never exhaust a personality. Even in its finite individuality it has in it the promise, and is capacious of the power, of an endless life. There is no mountain or valley, no sea or stream that does not at once gain a higher interest to us from association with the pathos and tragedy, the heroism and victories of the human spirit. A woman of genius, born and reared in a rural Puritan home not far from here, has depicted in simple tales, sincere and truthful, some of the aspects of our New England life. A few of these stories have attracted the attention of a distinguished French novelist and critic, who has translated them into her native tongue, with prefatory words, from which these have been rendered in one of our daily journals:

"The subject and setting [of these tales] are simple, and may seem at first a little cold, but what repressed tenderness, what sincerity in the smallest details, what depth of religious feeling, what a pure moral atmosphere, what poetry even, at times! To be convinced of this, just read the idyl of 'A White Heron.' This heron is much desired by a very ornithological hunter, who wishes to be of use to little Sylvia, who pastures her cow near the precious nest. This little girl, who resembles more a flower of the desert, or a timid little fawn of the woods, than a human child, undertakes heroic work to help the stranger in his eager quest. She climbs before dawn to the top of a colossal pine, from which one discovers, in addition to all the surrounding country, wonders enough to make one dizzy. From the height of this post of observation she sees the bird emerge from the green of the marsh — there is its home. She has surprised this secret, which can make her rich and bring her the friendship of the hunter, whose passage through this solitary country has been the one event of her young life! How does it happen that the expected words refuse to fall from her lips? Deliver the white heron, who has come to perch on a branch near her, and watch with her the rising of the sun! . . . No, she cannot. Cost what it may she will keep the bird's secret. Emotion vibrates at the end, without the author's

having used, to make it, anything but the sentiment of loyalty, and an instinctive and delicate point of honor. It is enough; nature preponderates and little Sylvia is no longer of any more importance than a blade of grass, and yet the beatings of this infantile heart fill the immense landscape and add to its impassive serenity, largely and simply rendered, something greater than it, something divine."¹

"And he took a little child, and set him in the midst of them: and taking him in his arms, he said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of such little children in my name receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but Him that sent me."

The personality of the Christian faith, the subject of its creed, is our Creator and Father revealed and communicated in the divine Son by the energy of the Spirit who searches and knows the mind of God. The church, as I have said, began to testify of God in this his personal revelation. Whatever it had to say in its creed clustered about this personal disclosure: the Father, Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; the Son, only begotten, our Lord; the Spirit, the church his workmanship, bearing and witnessing to the Christian message of the forgiveness of sins and of a completed redemption in the resurrection of the body and the eternal life.

It was a matter of course, a natural development from an inner principle and by an inherent law, that this testimony should become more and more explicit and full. The church's creeds are not something merely forced upon her by her conflicts and imported from without. Yet they have usually been, in their expansion or reconstruction, conditioned by doubt, denial, and controversy, so that elements have commingled that are foreign to the motive and spirit of their origin, and inconsistent with their purity. Differences of opinion exist within the church itself as to the nature and degree of this corruption of the Christian faith, and, as I have before intimated, one cause of hostility to dogma is to be found in the fact that the development of symbols has not kept unswervingly to the line of a pure evolution of the church's faith.

A typical dogmatic expansion may be found in the first, and, strictly speaking, the only Ecumenical Creed, that of Nicaea, in which may be embraced the additions which accrued in the century of its origin and are included in its liturgical form as recognized in the Eastern and Western churches.

Some would find in this creed the beginning of dogma, mean-

¹ *Boston Post*, September 10, 1890.

ing by this a proposition about God, distinct from the content of Christian faith, and having ecclesiastical validity. And on the face of it, and to what I cannot but deem a superficial examination, such a contention seems to be capable of easy and sure demonstration. For the leading terms of this creed are either not Biblical, or if Scriptural in form have gained a metaphysical meaning which it may be contended exceeds their original ethical significance. Behind their adoption lie centuries of thought which have drawn from the fountains of human philosophy, and not merely from those of sacred wisdom.

It is not my purpose here to dispute such a contention, though I do not share its conclusion. A thoroughly historical interpretation of this creed will find in it, I believe, a genuine expression of the faith proclaimed by Paul, taught by the beloved disciple, revealed in the Incarnation. And for one I could wish that its liturgical use could be increased rather than diminished, for though it is not a creed of our time, and needs interpretation to be understood of the people, it is susceptible of such exposition, and has a peculiar value both as a bond of union with churches of other lands and climes, and as a witness to a continuity of faith through the Christian centuries which has its own value and power.

But all this is somewhat aside from my present purpose. Here — whatever exception may be taken — is at any rate a confession of God. It affirms something about Him, that one God made the heavens and the earth, that Jesus Christ, our Lord and Redeemer, He by whom all things were made and who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, is one in his nature and being with the Father, as is also the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, so that He who made us and redeems us and dwells within us is one and the same God, and our life which is from Him, in its constitution and endowment, on its earthly and its spiritual sides, in this world and the world to come, is everywhere and forever capacious of the divine, and not an irrational and splintered and distracted experience but capable of unity and rest and everlasting growth.

Now this is dogma, the dogma of Nicæa, as I believe; but however this may be, it is dogma which Christian thought early found to lie enfolded in the simplest content of its faith, and tried to express, however imperfectly, in its growing creed. And when such a creed is said to be necessary to salvation, the meaning is not, or at any rate ought not to be, that there is no pupilship

and growth in Christian knowledge, and all can be taught and received as by a stroke, but that salvation in the Christian sense is a consummation of recovery and our admission to a life which is a knowledge of God, and is in the truth of God, and is eternal in its quality and in its capacity of progress.

If dogma means truth which is foreign to religious life, which is not a development of the content of faith, or a ministrant to it, if it drops the clue given in its origin and cuts itself off from the spring of its normal growth, if it cease to be a response and a testimony to what God is in his redemptive working for human recovery to sonship and eternal life, then it is not in any true sense Christian dogma, or church doctrine, and I am not contending for it. But what I do stand for and would press with insistence is that in Christian faith, even in its simplest rudiments, there is always truth about God, and that this truth can be more and more perfectly known, and as discovered can be confessed, and that the confession of one generation is not lost with the coming of another, but gains in volume and power, and that it is a part of the obligation of Christian service to maintain this faith and augment this testimony, and that in such a process truth becomes dogma, and dogma is the church's increasing realization and use of the intellectual content of its faith.

We are told that Scripture gives us no dogma. I deny it. "God is spirit." Is not that in every sense a theological proposition?¹ It is even pure metaphysics, of which some of our brethren in these days are so terribly afraid. And it is God in this metaphysical conception of Him in whom we are to believe, whom that unlettered woman at the well of Samaria was to worship.

Dogma, as it belongs to the progress of the church, belongs to its culture of its members, and should be a part of its systematic education in every generation.

In the reaction, which marks our age, from reasonings founded upon premises imperfect or imperfectly understood, and from the consequent dogmatism upon themes not within the limits of human intelligence, there is danger of the church's slighting the powers of reason actually bestowed and the materials of thought which are within our reach. We have occasion to beware of the fallacy which infers that because a subject is in some respects beyond us it is in all respects unknowable. What the best science of our time teaches us as to method and power is carefully to question

¹ Such a use of this text I seem to recall from the conversation many years since of a revered friend.

our premises, not putting into them more than they contain or we can verify, not holding them as complete truths when they are only aspects of truths, not accepting them as guarantees of all possible logical deductions as though they were mathematical propositions instead of truths of being and life requiring that our inferences from them should be tested by life as well as by logic. This much the new scientific method requires of us. But it does not condemn investigation, nor discard logic. It does not take any known truth out from the domain of intellectual apprehension and scrutiny and from the service of thought. Nor is it right for the church to restrict its teaching, or reduce its methods to the demands of practical evangelism. Science, whether of divine things or of human, whether of matter or spirit, is a legitimate interest and concern of the human mind and of human life. Worn out methods of inquiry are to be discarded, fruitless speculations are to be shunned, but not scientific investigations, not severe and masculine thought, not the loftiest themes.

Christianity, there is reason to believe, is not a mere system of redemption, an episode in religion; though it is in this aspect that it lies nearest to us and is mainly treated in the Scriptures. There are hints and suggestions of something further. Christ is the beginning and end not only of redemption, but of the universe and of its history. "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send." Something from the eternal world, something of that divine life which was in the beginning and will survive its present order, something that will make a continuity between our present knowledge and our intellectual life when this world's sin and our deliverance from it will be but a reminiscence of an ever remoter stage of being, is even now inwrapped in our Christian experience and provided for and assured in our Christian faith. There may be a dogmatic thinking about God that has in it no religious life; there may also be an intellectual apprehension of Him which is a fellowship with the truth, a knowledge that in Him is light and no darkness. There is, as a friend recently said to me, "an adoration of the intellect."

Paul exhorted his Greek converts to be men in understanding. If time permitted — as it does not — I would like to draw out a little in detail the discrimination suggested both in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the recognized Pauline Epistles, between those who are regarded as babes in Christ, and those who are adults, and between the truths, or rather the forms and developments of one

and the same truth, which are characterized respectively as milk and as meat.

In the latter are included not only individual dogmas, but a vast system of dogmatic truth, embracing the principles and outline of an unfolding divine kingdom, a divine Plan of Redemption, and an ordering of the world in subservience thereto, with hints and suggestions that illumine the ages to come, with the light of the mystery hidden from the creation of the world but now revealed and hereafter to be realized in the harmony of a universe subjected and reconciled to God.

These higher revelations of God, his nature, purposes, wisdom, and power, task the mind that receives them and stimulate its highest powers to their intensest activity. They present a kind of truth supremely congenial to its spiritual endowment and fitted to be its nutriment. They give a practical solution of its most perplexing problems, points of rest and equilibrium in its most adventurous thought and tumultuous experience. What a peace came down into the turmoil of that ancient world in its bewildering perplexity over the problem of evil and its shuddering horror and despair at the gates of death and before the problem of immortality, through the divine word of forgiveness and of life proclaimed by the Son of Man and attested by his cross and his resurrection? Men's thought of God was transformed, enriched, ennobled, harmonized with the divine reality, through their faith in Christ as Son of Man and Son of God, very God of very God, coessential with the Father.

How shall the same repose of faith, the peace of a childlike trust in God, grow deeper and stronger with increasing mental vigor and widening knowledge? How in an intellectual age and amid the uncertainties of controversies that gather into their issues the deepest, the ultimate questions of life and immortality, — how shall the student and the teacher of truth walk safely and serenely? Not by ignoring difficulties. Not by refusing to think. Not by mere outward authority. Not by an assumed humility. Rather it must be by the larger and fuller appropriation of the only powers which can bring relief. Where there are mountains there must be shadows. But the way of escape from the shadows is not to linger and creep in the valleys, but to climb the heights.

If I have suggested the principle through which is to be won the solution of the problem of dogma in religion, by turning your

attention to the content of faith, I have equally brought to view the way in which can be determined the connected question of religious authority.

There is something at first view disappointing and perplexing in observing, as a recent writer has done,¹ how two of the most eminent men in ethics and religion of our time have answered this inquiry. Each by right of native endowments and simplicity and sincerity of thought attracts us as to one who can minister to our need. Yet when we obtain their answers one points us to Rome, the other to our own reason and conscience. To one authority becomes outward, to the other inward. Is it enough to mark their contrast? Has either wholly erred? May not both be right, though each is also wrong?

"Ye call me Master, and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am." What has Christ to say to us on this question of authority? In his answer, I think, we realize afresh that He is our true Teacher and Lord, and the world's Light.

Certainly Christ was not wanting in reverence to outward authority. "The Scripture cannot be broken," was to Him not a mere maxim for controversy, but a principle of belief and conduct. Yet who so free with its letter and particular modes? And who so constant and deep a listener for the voice of the living Spirit, whose guidance was sought in midnight hours of prayer, and in solitudes that but symbolized the deeper retirement of his spirit with God?

Is there not something, as it were, pitiful in the way in which some of the followers of Him who began his ministry in the power of the Spirit, and at its close breathed on his disciples and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, deem themselves constrained to stake the entire content of the Christian faith on the historicity of Jonah, and the date of the book of Daniel, and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch?

Christ's testimony points us neither to a mere outward norm, nor to the mere authority of human reason, the inward assurance of divine truth. What we crave is a *divine* authority. Our homage must be to the living God. We can apprehend Him only as He apprehends us. We can know Him only as He reveals himself. The flowers of the field and the stars in the nightly skies speak to us of God. Conscience is his voice. Yet through neither alone does there come to us that Word of God that sets us free from the law of sin and death and makes us free in

¹ *The Spectator*, August 23, 1890.

the liberty of the sons of God. How shall man be just with God? But for the light on the hills of Galilee and in the manger of Bethlehem, and which shines from the cross, the constellations might still rise and set for us as of old to Job in the land of Uz, and our consciences might be as perfect as his, and still our cry be, "Oh that I knew where I might find Him." The seat of religious authority is in God alone; nor can it be found save as He finds us and we find Him. There Christ found it and found it perfectly. We discover it through Him. It is an outward law; a revelation given historically according to a purpose to meet man's moral and religious needs. It is summed up for us in the record of this revelation, the written word, our one supreme and only rule of faith and practice. But not in its letter alone, nor there at all save as through it and by it we are taught by the Spirit whom Christ sends to all who would be his disciples. The truth of God, God in his reality, and therefore of necessity in his authority, there speaks to us as truth and divine reality, and we know Him with a certainty that is born of God and is a witness of his Spirit.

There is a very beautiful suggestion of the true compass and source and seat of religious authority in the words with which the brethren at Jerusalem together with the Apostles reached those judgments or dogmas¹ — so they are called — recorded in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts. The phrase is "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." And if you will open your Greek Testaments at the place and examine what is said, you can notice, as another has observed, that the word translated "It seemed good" is the verbal form of the substantive, dogma. A genuine dogma is something that seems good to the human spirit in communion with the divine. And its authority is thus, as Dr. Martineau finds it, in our reason and conscience, because these are at one with the universal reason and the supreme good, and it is also, as Cardinal Newman found it, in the Church of Christ, if so be that its members are taught of Him; and it is in neither ultimately and finally, but in God alone, speaking in many ways, but supremely in his word interpreted and attested in our reason and conscience by his Spirit.

This Word is larger and deeper in its truth than the attainment of any Christian or all Christians. New light is ever breaking forth from it. In what I have said I have dealt only with the principle of authority, not with its scope and applications. We

¹ Acts xvi. 4.

need ever to remember that we are but pupils in the school of Christ, that in religion as in all educating processes and moral life there must be a function of authority which exceeds any given stage of the disciple's experience. We cannot forget the disturbing, confusing, blinding power of sin. We need, the world needs, a divine teacher, and such a teacher's authority extends beyond what we can immediately verify in experience. We trust Him beyond what we know, because we know in whom we believe. And if Faith is thus primary and constant and the root of religion, this is only because it is equally radical, as I said at the outset, in all knowledge; for our souls in every department, faculty, and motion of being and life are from God and environed by God, and faith is simply their correlation to Him.

It is, sirs and brethren, for the study of his revelation of himself to men that we are gathered here. To prepare to preach the word "in demonstration of the spirit and of power" is now your special aim and your immediate and supreme obligation.

There is but one Teacher, who says to you as to his disciples of old and to all who "search the Scriptures," "These are they which bear witness of me." And again: "And I will pray the Father and He shall give you . . . the spirit of truth; . . . for He abideth with you and shall be in you. I will not leave you desolate: I come unto you."

And so shall there be opened to your willing feet the fountain and law of all genuine Christian dogma, and the authority which is the source of all lordship, for He is the unerring Way to the Truth that is Life.

Egbert C. Smyth.

EDITORIAL.

"SUNDAY-SCHOOL BIBLE STUDY."

MR. BLAKESLEE'S Sunday-school "Studies in the Life of Christ," described by him in the opening article of our last number, have so fully commended themselves to Professor W. R. Harper, as to gain the great advantage of his assistance in their publication. It is announced that they will shortly be printed by the "Students' Publishing Co.," under Dr. Harper's editorial sanction and supervision.

This means, we need hardly say, that the Christian public will soon be considering the merits of these "Studies." The enterprise is certainly a legitimate one. The "International System," which now shapes our Sunday-school teaching, has earned respectful treatment by the services it has rendered to the churches. But to maintain that these services give it a prescriptive claim to its present influence would be absurd. Obviously it should and must lose its supremacy unless it can prove itself worthy of it. And high as its merits are, a system having greater ones may be invented. At any rate, a method may be found better adapted than it to meet the wants of some part of its immense constituency. So, when men of ability and earnest purpose present a system deemed by them better fitted for at least a portion of our Sunday-school scholars than the "International," they have a fair claim to a hearing. And the importance of the end in view makes any promise of good results borne by their enterprise a matter of great interest to the churches.

We wish frankly to express our opinion that Mr. Blakeslee's scheme has merits which commend it to the very careful consideration of all interested in Sunday-school work. The scheme, it is proper to say, is entirely of Mr. Blakeslee's origination. We have only such interest in it as our belief in its excellence creates. We do not commit ourselves to the details of its execution. We stand in precisely the same outside relation to it as that in which we should have stood had it been first announced elsewhere than in this "Review." We feel no hesitation, therefore, in saying that we think highly of this system, and in giving our reasons for preferring it to any other with which we are acquainted.

The chief of these reasons is, that the idea of the task of the Sunday-school underlying and shaping it is, in our judgment, correct. This alone, of all similar systems with which we are acquainted, clearly expresses in its structure the function of the Sunday-school. What is that function? It is to give a Christian knowledge of the revelation made in Christ and recorded in the Bible. This statement seems to us almost a truism; yet we suspect that some hearty friends of the Sunday-school are not able to accept it. We will, therefore, assume that it needs justification, and say a few things in its defense. And, first, the Sunday-school ought to undertake to give Christian knowledge. It must base its

methods on the assumption that its pupils are neither Jews nor heathen, but Christians. For it is the *church* Sunday-school, of course, not the mission school, with whose task and methods we are concerned. It is a school composed of a part of the Christian society, largely, though not exclusively, made up of its younger members. True, not all of these have come into a conscious Christian experience, but all of them presumably have the Christian attitude toward the truth of Christ, the child-like temper which is the first and chief requisite of discipleship. This is assumed in our present system of instruction, in every system which we know. To make up the annual course of teaching out of such truths and facts alone as constitute the message of Christianity to the unconverted would be generally, perhaps universally, regarded as impossible. Certainly the "International System" undertakes a larger task than this. It assumes, and rightly, that its work is to edify, which implies that those under its influence are Christians. What else does its occasional careful consecutive study of an entire gospel, what else does its extensive use of the Old Testament mean? It is evidently written in the belief that such of those under its instruction as are not consciously Christians will become so as its teaching goes on, and so receive the knowledge Christians need.

Further, the Christian knowledge which the Sunday-school aims to give is a knowledge of the revelation made in Christ and recorded in the Bible. This revelation is the content, and the sole content, of distinctively Christian knowledge. Such knowledge neither consists in nor necessarily includes a merely literary and scientific knowledge of the Bible, for many of those who have this are not Christians, and some Christians of the purest type, notably the Apostles, can hardly be said to have had it.

The special value of the Scriptures is due to the fact that they contain the Christian revelation. Do not the Old Testament Scriptures owe their usefulness to the church to the fact that the history they hold is an organic part of that revelation? Is not their use in the Sunday-school due to the help they give in understanding Christ and his work? Surely, then, not the Book, as such, but the revelation recorded in the Book, is the specific content of Christian knowledge, and the subject of Sunday-school teaching. The "International System" virtually says this in giving greatest prominence to those portions of the Bible which contain the central part of the revelation, and making comparatively little account of those whose relation to Christ is remotest. A system of instruction constructed on the assumption that all parts of the Scripture are of equal value would be utterly impracticable. And what test of the relative value of the different parts of the Bible has ever been proposed in the Christian Church other than that of their comparative nearness to the person of Christ, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge"?

We assume, then, that we have rightly stated the aim of Sunday-school instruction. If we have done so, the one test of a good Sunday-school system is its fitness to give a Christian knowledge of the revelation made in Christ and recorded in the Bible.

Of the proofs which any such system can give of its adaptedness to secure this aim, the chief one is surely that it approaches its work in the right way. If the material to be taught suggests an order of teaching in which it will be most effectively used, then the first requisite of a good plan will be, of course, the following this order. It does suggest such an order. The study of the revelation in Christ naturally begins with the study of the Incarnation, as given in the life of Christ; and then proceeds to a knowledge of God's redemptive work in Christ, as illustrated in the life of the apostolic church and taught by its Apostles. Lastly, it studies the life of the Jewish Church as a divine preparation for Christ and his work. For a Christian knowledge of the Old Covenant is a knowledge that sees it in its service of the New and its subordination to it. Otherwise, the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews is wrong throughout. We cannot, and should not try to, compel Christian children to live for a time in Judaism before entering upon Christianity. They cannot make the Hebrew conception of God their own if they try, and to oblige them to try does them harm by making religion unreal to them. The value of the contribution which the Old Testament can make to Christian knowledge the church has yet to learn, but it cannot do so until it is willing to use the only key to the Old Testament, — Christianity. We have, then, a natural order of studying the revelation in Christ, one which lies in the revelation itself.

Mr. Blakeslee's system, for we are encouraged by him to regard the "Studies in the Life of the Christ" as only the beginning of a complete system of Sunday-school instruction, follows this order. The conception of Bible study underlying and shaping it is thus stated by its author: —

"It should be *Christo-centric*, that is, it should in general treat all Scripture in its relation to the Christ. It should, therefore, begin with the life of the Christ himself, and study it comprehensively and as a self-consistent whole, proceeding next to a study of the other parts of the Bible, with special reference to their connection with his person and work. Such a course might include an outline study of the development of the Church of Christ, as found in the Acts and the Epistles, and then go back to a study of the church before the Christ, tracing in particular the historical preparation for his coming, and the development of the Messianic idea."

This is the right way of taking up the task of the Sunday-school. A well-constructed system made upon this plan will have a felt unity and vital power. For it will carry in all its parts the central living truth, Christ. It will teach the principles of Christianity as a system which is not consistently shaped by them cannot do. It will enable the more mature minds to understand those principles, the less mature to use them

instinctively in assimilating the Christian facts. At any rate, it will teach the upper half of the school more effectively than any method less correctly conceived.

Considered in themselves, the "Studies in the Life of the Christ" deserve hearty commendation. They bear the marks of Mr. Blakeslee's firm grasp of the principle of Sunday-school study. They also show due regard for historical truth and careful study of the facts. The main divisions are well chosen, and the significance of each justly stated. True insight as well as fidelity to Scripture are shown in the tracing of the religious meaning of Christ's life in its advancing tasks and deepening experiences. We cannot agree with Mr. Blakeslee's views respecting some important critical questions. But we are sure that even greater mistakes than we think him to have made would not very materially detract from the adaptedness of the "Studies" to the end in view. They are admirably fitted to lead young disciples to a knowledge of the meaning of Christ's life as a whole. If properly taught, they will also leave the impression that the right use of the record is no easy matter, that the Biblical student, lay or clerical, old or young, must, as Professor Fisher says of the Biblical theologian, "earn his bread by the sweat of his brow." This impression will be no small part of the service they will render.

CANON LIDDON'S PREACHING.

On the ninth of September last the strongest and purest light of the Church of England was suddenly and unexpectedly extinguished. The loss of an eminent and popular preacher who richly deserved his high reputation touches thousands of Christian hearts in England and America with keen regret. In the death of Canon Liddon the High-Church party is deprived of its most powerful champion since the death of Pusey; and it is no disparagement to any living divine of the English pulpit to name the Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral as the foremost preacher of the Church of England since the death of Wilberforce, the Bishop of Winchester.

Liddon was but a little more than forty years of age when he was made "Canon in Residence" of St. Paul's, London. He came to this great work rich in brilliant natural endowments, reinforced by a remarkably ample professional equipment. His undergraduate period of strict university discipline at Oxford had been followed by five years of efficient service as Vice-Principal of the High-Church Divinity School at Cuddesdon, to which responsible position he was appointed at the early age of twenty-two. Subsequently, as examining chaplain to Walter Kerr Hamilton, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and later as Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, the young divine came into contact with the most important formative influence of his career, — the wise and saintly Bishop Hamilton himself. During Liddon's residence at Salisbury his fame as a

preacher reached the ears of the authorities at Oxford, and at the age of thirty-four he received the distinction of an appointment as Select Preacher to the University. The famous Church of St. Mary was crowded Sunday after Sunday by distinguished audiences such as never had filled it since the days of John Henry Newman. Three years later, in 1866, he achieved a most substantial and permanent addition to his reputation as a preacher and a theologian, by his delivery of the justly celebrated Bampton Lectures on "The Divinity of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ." In the same year a new honor came to him in his election to the "Hebdomadal Council" of Oxford, a position that he held for nine years. The significance of this election lies in the fact of his recognition as the guiding influence in the Anglican party in University politics. After the publication of the Bampton Lectures the fame of Liddon was secure. In the scholarly, learned, devout, and eloquent Prebendary of Salisbury the High-Church party had found a head.

Under the momentum of such a splendid university reputation it is no wonder that Liddon's transference from Salisbury to London, in 1870, produced a sensation in the religious world of the metropolis. Hitherto he had been but a name to the great city. He, too, entered a strange atmosphere and distrusted his fitness to meet the new conditions. But immediately upon his coming to London his preaching attracted immense audiences. His university gave a fresh impetus to his popularity by bestowing upon him that year the honorary degrees of D. D. and Hon. D. C. L., and by electing him to the Dean Ireland Professorship of Exegesis. He held this professorship for twelve years, displaying unexpected powers in the surpassing art of inspiring as well as instructing; he not only imparted his wealth of learning, but also communicated the living spark that kindled in the minds of his pupils a love of truth, and revealed to them the method of laying hold of it.

Canon Liddon's metropolitan fame had its origin, not in St. Paul's, but in one of the most fashionable churches of London, — St. James, Piccadilly, during the delivery of six lectures in the Lenten season of 1870. These lectures were afterward published in the well-known volume entitled "Some Elements of Religion."

The rare privilege of hearing two of those lectures, — "God, the Object of Religion," and "Prayer, the Characteristic Action of Religion," — was a memorable experience to the present writer. The size and character of the audience testified to the deep interest in the Oxford preacher. Every sitting in the spacious edifice was occupied. The aisles were crowded with men and women who were grateful for obtaining even standing-room. The audiences were notable for the large representation of scientific and literary culture, social rank, and civic and political place and influence. We vividly recall the figure of the preacher as his robes touched us while he was rapidly passing from the chancel to the somewhat distant pulpit: a person rather under middle height, spare in frame, and

with the scholar's stoop to his shoulders, his manuscript tightly clasped with both hands before his breast as if they held a precious treasure, his head projected forward, with eyes intently fixed upon the pulpit as if forgetful of the great presence surrounding him, and only eager to reach the spot for delivering his important message. His features were sharply cut, refined rather than strong, regular, and yet not classic; they bore the impress of high moral thoughtfulness, and expressed a happy blending of ardor and seriousness, austerity and kindliness. His forehead was broad and intellectual, especially developed in the region of the reasoning faculties. The thin, closely cut hair and clean-shaven face gave the finishing touch to the impression that you might be looking upon a monk of the nineteenth century. In the pulpit his presence was not imposing, but he had not spoken five minutes before one forgot his physical appearance and surrendered himself to the magic of the preacher's fervid eloquence.

The distinctive mark of Liddon's preaching was intensity of earnestness. He threw his whole soul into his work. He spoke like a man possessed. His thin, white face glowed with the kindling light and warmth of his rapidly unfolding theme. For an hour and a half, each time we heard him, he poured forth an uninterrupted stream of elevated thought in language that was the luminous reflection of his clear, earnest, orderly intellect. His was an eloquent mind. It was a mind in motion. You felt it moving forward under the impulse of well-wrought knowledge and ardent feeling towards a vitally important end which he seemed to hold himself responsible for accomplishing.

Liddon's method of delivery was the manuscript method, and was invariably employed; but he had so mastered his subject and was so familiar with his manuscript that it was no more in his way than the banks of a stream hinder the liberty of the swiftly flowing current. It often seemed as if he dispensed with the manuscript, while it actually lay before him. The oratorical expression from manuscript was an admirable example of the vital difference between reading a paper and *delivery* from manuscript. The delivery was eloquent and impressive. The voice did not so much charm the listener as command him. It was a vibrant, robust tenor in its *timbre*, of a limited range of notes, and, occasionally, when the voice was charged with unusual energy, became metallic in quality. His use of the voice was chiefly in the mode of an expressive monotone, which was neither a chant nor a recitative, but rather a cathedral melody which the conditions of cathedral preaching seem to engender.

One striking excellence of his utterance was his perfect oral syllabication. He seemed to appreciate the musical values of open vowels and sonorous consonants. As a consequence, in the most impassioned passages the syllables never became mixed, nor the sentences confused. Every word reached the ear of the farthest auditor. He had learned

the secret of overcoming the peculiar difficulties of cathedral speaking. The "music of the phrase" was always under the control of the speaker's directing intelligence. The structure of the discourse and the progress of the argument were clearly revealed through the modulation, and the salient points of the paragraphs were brought into bold relief. His rate of utterance seemed impetuous from his enthusiasm, but his mental poise and good taste insured a certain "temperance" in the movement "which gave it smoothness." His absorption in his pulpit work was complete. Utterly forgetful of himself in his theme, he was yet keenly alive to his audience. The style was largely pervaded with the oral quality, as if he had held his audience before his mind's eye in composing; and his voice came to us with an undertone of direct address; but the use of the eyes was strangely inconsistent with voice and style. The eyes never searched the audience, nor rested upon any part of it. Oblivious of his auditors, the eyes, whenever they left the manuscript, seemed to be fascinated by some ideal presence above and beyond him, and in an oblique line of vision to the right of him.

His delivery was full of nervous energy. The strenuously moving mind gave a corresponding movement to the physical expression. His vehemence of spirit entered into frame, countenance, and voice, more than into gesture. He was not a master of oratorical action. The gestures were comparatively few, and chiefly expressive of emphatic moods of feeling. The index finger, or the open palm, or the closed hand, would coincide incisively with some strong assertion or energetic interrogation; but there was no influence of the dramatic imagination upon his pulpit action.

The literary taste of this admirable preacher was fine and true. He was a rhetorician in the worthiest sense of the term. That he had a keen sense of the functions and limitations of a sermon as a distinct form of rhetorical art may be seen in his own words: "An essay belongs to general literature; a sermon is the language of the Church. A sermon is confined within narrow limits; and its necessarily rhetorical character renders an economical use of its scanty opportunities impossible. Each sermon must suggest many topics which it cannot afford to discuss." Nearly all of his university sermons are restricted to particular points which happened at the time of their delivery to excite interest or to cause difficulties among persons with whom the preacher was more or less acquainted. In the architecture of his sermons he was a homiletic artist of a very high order. Structure was all important in his rhetorical work; yet it was simple, ordered, well proportioned. The beauty of his sermons was a severe beauty,—the resultant impression of symmetry, and adaptedness of the structure to its end. Intellect, and not emotion, was the ruling power in his sermonic prose. He foresaw the end of his address in the beginning; he never lost sight of his controlling motive; in every separate division he kept the other divisions in view; and the

last idea, with increasing vigor of growth, developed and warranted the first. Naturally, there was a vital wholeness to the completed discourse, a unity of impression, that left a long-abiding influence in the hearer's mind.

The architectural conception of his work influenced his style. The fabric was close, compact, yet flexible, and warm with color, but never marred with meretricious ornament. His taste was too severe to permit the use of ornament for the mere sake of ornamentation. Hence his discourse was invariably dignified, masculine, and vital, with never a trace of declamation. The simplicity and symmetry of structure, the choice aptness of diction, and noble freedom and strength of his rhetorical manner were excellences that were always present in his academic discourses, and in occasional sermons like those on "The Elements of Religion." He realized that his hearers were competent judges of his thought and manner. He made his appeal to the intellect and the spirit. But he knew his cathedral audiences equally well. With a fine oratorical instinct he adapted his discourse to *the people*. But still he aimed at a spiritual and intellectual effect. He *meant* to be "popular," but was never inelegant, never careless, or vulgarly sensational. He did not speak down to the people, but he did get into sympathy with them. Scattered amongst those cathedral audiences were as skillful judges as he faced at St. Mary's, Oxford, and St. James's, Piccadilly. The ignorant were there, too, and so were the rich and the poor. A cathedral audience is the true representative of a popular audience. Obviously, it is here the speaker's duty to be popular, but it is no less his duty to be nobly popular. Canon Liddon appreciated his responsibility, and grandly fulfilled the duty. He knew that popular preaching has its own peculiar note. He was as lucid as ever, as full of life and directness of speech as ever; there was no less movement, nor any diminution of warmth; he was as free and bold as he was in the fields where his intellectual gifts found their amplest expression and most sympathetic recognition. But there was a new touch of simplicity, a new tone of familiarity mingled with his elevation and purity of speech. He came into a closer accord with the popular average sentiment and opinion. Not one of his auditors could have spoken as he did, but there was not one of them who did not comprehend him. It is this noble use of the commonplace, we suspect, that has led some of his friendly critics to say that his style deteriorated after he had been preaching a few years in St. Paul's. Let it be remembered that had he kept the same kind of dignity of subject and treatment that he illustrated at Oxford, the "common people" would not have "heard him gladly"; they would not have heard him at all. The people are the best judges of eloquence; and that Liddon stood the severity of that test is seen in the fact that, for twenty years he spiritually "fed above five thousand at once" every time he appeared in the pulpit of St. Paul's.

Liddon's pulpit power is not to be accounted for in his erudition, intellectual brilliancy, and spirituality of character. His endowments and acquisitions were influenced by a strong predisposition for public speaking. In the quiet, early days at Cuddesdon and Salisbury he gave himself assiduously to the cultivation of form in preaching. A deep intellectual and rhetorical sympathy with the best French school of preaching led him to a profound study of that successful method of pulpit oratory. His university sermons in spirit and aim were not unlike the celebrated *Conférences* of Père Felix and of the greater Lacordaire. In the union of patient and accurate thinking with an ardent soul expressing itself in a corresponding style of impressive and impassioned popular eloquence, Liddon may not unfitly be styled the English Lacordaire; denied, to be sure, the imagination, the thrilling pathos, the dramatic power, the magnetic penetration, the inspiring voice and noble presence of his foreign prototype, but, like him, making it the devotion of his life to defend the Christian faith and to prepare the hearts of men for its reception, he spoke as one possessed by a mighty truth and not merely possessing it. The strength of his own genius prevented him from adopting the manner of any master. Trusting in his own resources, he simply learned the language of public address from those continental masters of preaching, and used it after his own fashion.

But the sum of Canon Liddon's preaching is not made up until one speaks of the atmosphere in which the several qualities of his pulpit work lived, moved, and had their being — his theology. The moulding force that fused and directed the preëminent excellences of his public speech was the vitality of his theological convictions. Theology held complete possession of his mind; it penetrated and dictated his character; it was identical with his whole mental and moral activity. The science of religion was transmuted into faith and life. Christian theology, in his view, was "the only world of absolute and not of relative truth within our reach." If Christ's religion is not absolute it is nothing. With his whole soul he recognized the claim of Christianity to be the universal religion. Occasionally, his usually courteous, candid, and temperate speech came perilously near the extravagance of scorn and contempt when he came into contact with the half-hearted expositions of God's message to men in the literary, or scientific, or humanitarian, or eclectic substitutes for Christianity. His own profound faith in the revelation of God in Christ demanded of Christian preachers of refined taste and cultivated intellect that they "subordinate the embellishments of Christian truth to its vital and soul-subduing certainties." He dreaded the outcome of theories of doctrinal "development," like Newman's, that logically lead to Rome; and as strongly deprecated purely scientific theories of "evolution," that land the intellect in agnosticism. For irreligious society, complaining that "life is not worth living," he has the answer of the Christian revelation, that "human existence is not temporary, but everlasting."

The systematized truths of Christianity were identical in his mind with the Anglicanism of Pusey and Keble and Hamilton. With these great church leaders he was on most intimate terms of personal friendship, and in perfect ecclesiastical and theological sympathy. He was a Puseyite and a theologian from his youth up. His brother writes: "I have in my possession a sermon written when he was sixteen, in which the great truths of Christianity are as clearly stated as they have been in his after life." There is no evidence that he ever desired to wander out of the Anglican fold. We do not believe he ever had a religious doubt in his life. Anglican as he was, he was a primitive Christian yet more. As one says who knew him: "He was disposed to look for 'the Dayspring' exclusively through Eastern windows." The primitive Christianity as interpreted by Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, Eusebius, and Chrysostom, was the absolute religion "which should override all the narrow distinctions of political and historical policy, and make of one blood all the nations of the earth." From this point of view in his religious belief he commanded a wide horizon. The topics of his sermons went beyond the fashion in English preaching of following the course of the Christian Year. His discourses were often enlivened with keen criticisms of modern society, ethics, and politics. In his dealing with the leading verities of the Faith he often expressed an appreciative sympathy with the mental difficulties of the common people, and gave them invaluable counsel upon perplexing moral questions in the practical conduct of life.

And yet, rich and helpful as his sermons were on the deepest questions of spiritual doubt and denial, he failed to hold his supremacy as a guide in purely theological opinion. His popularity as a preacher was not diminished, but his influence as a theological force was confessedly on the wane. Many of his former pupils, younger members of his own High-Church party, and conservatives, too, like himself, such as Principal Gore and the other authors of "*Lux Mundi*," are destined to mould theological thinking during the next five-and-twenty years, rather than the fame and works of the eloquent academic ecclesiastic of St. Paul's, who bounded belief in Christ by the Athanasian Creed, and the sources of whose preaching were found in a sacramental theology. Liddon's vigorous protest against "*Lux Mundi*," indicates his inability to take the point of view of the "Higher Criticism," and modern theological thought. His face was towards the setting, not the rising sun.

His special function as a preacher was not in Newman's calling of piercing the secrets of the human heart; Liddon's function was that of the Christian Apologist. He spoke as under the conviction of a divine vocation of maintaining, defending, and proclaiming the truths of revelation to an age distracted with restless, feverish speculations. He was not a searcher after truth, he had found it long ago and never lost it. He had not skirted the moors and fens of skepticism with John Sterling, and Frederick Robertson, and Julius Hare; he never "tasted alike the charm

and agony of unbelief" with Lacordaire; he was no prophet, or special champion of the workingman like Maurice; he was a brave and skillful knight-errant, "without fear and without reproach," never for a moment disloyal to the Church of Christ, the revered mistress of his soul, and magnificently equipped for fighting the battles of the Lord with the spirit of a true soldier, boldly and honorably.

THE "RADICAL CHANGE" AT THE MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS.

THE friends of the American Board and of foreign missions have occasion for rejoicing over the result reached at Minneapolis. A unanimous report from the able and representative committee of investigation appointed at New York happily prepared the way for a unanimous adoption of the Committee's recommendations. We print the report elsewhere, and it explains itself. The Board passed a vote of thanks to the Committee for their service, and the more fully their labors are known the more will they be appreciated.

The Home Secretary, while the Committee's proposals were under discussion, affirmed that their adoption would introduce a "radical change" in the methods of the Board. The Board unanimously voted this change, and Dr. Storrs, subsequently, in accepting his reappointment as President and member of the Prudential Committee, gave assurance, with marked emphasis of manner as of language, that the new policy should be "frankly, cordially, effectively, and completely carried out." This thorough-going revision and reversal of the old method of dealing with candidates for appointment is now the controlling fact of the situation. We accept it in good faith and commend it to the careful consideration of any who have been repelled from application under a different system.

On the morning after the change in method had been voted, some questions of interpretation from the Home Secretary called out the most vigorous and emphatic assurance of the intention of the Board that the previous minute and protracted inquiries into the position of candidates upon theological questions which are debatable, and respecting which there is a recognized liberty of opinion, should now cease. Formally, this expression of what is expected related to "conferences" with candidates on the part of the Secretaries. In principle it applies equally to the examinations which shall be conducted by the Prudential Committee.

This point we desire to make perfectly distinct. The thorough investigation made by the "Committee of Nine," the good sense of the Board, the efficiency of its President, have opened a way out of all the difficulties which have arisen. The new method now adopted for dealing with candidates makes an end of that private endeavor to change men's opinions which had become so obnoxious, and of that secretarial reporting of interviews and conferences as a basis of action by the appointing body

which has proved so misleading and deceptive. It secures openness of examinations by Ecclesiastical Councils, while reserving to the Committee of the Board, annually elected, the power of theological inquiry and judgment. All this is well, and promises well. But a change of method alone will not necessarily end the strife of which all parties may be equally weary, but which can only be permanently closed by a full recognition of mutual rights. The function of theological examination exercised hitherto by the Home Secretary is transferred by the vote of the Board to the Prudential Committee, and is required to be publicly exercised. This is the change. Whether it removes the cause of all the difficulty depends now on the wisdom of the Committee. We are happy to anticipate from it the best results; but it would be fatal for it to forget that it is now on trial, as previously the Home Secretary has been, and that if in conducting its examinations it should fall into his grave mistakes, the influences which have produced the present "radical change" are potent for other and more sweeping modifications. The history of the past three years, a comparison between Springfield and Minneapolis, shows how easily a majority melts away when there is a wrong to be redressed. Because the Board now chooses to entrust the duty of theological examination to its own Committee, no inference can be drawn that such a method must be permanent. A scheme which the Home Secretary pleaded had been in operation for fifty years was unanimously abolished, notwithstanding his protests, because of his use of it. If the Prudential Committee should employ the new method to secure the old results, the Board may again choose, rather than to remove from office its agents, simply to take from them the power and relieve them of the obligation of theological examination. Before the meeting at Springfield we recognized the necessity of theological examinations of candidates, conceded that "the natural method is through the Secretaries and the Prudential Committee," and added: "We do not deem any particular method of adjusting the present difficulties to be of essential importance. Relief by council seems to us preferable, because it brings the Board into closest and most advantageous relation to the churches. But if certain principles are duly maintained, we are ready to sustain any other method of settlement which may command general assent."¹ We apply this last remark to-day to the plan proposed by the "Committee of Nine" and adopted by the Board with such gratifying unanimity. Its success is now dependent on the spirit in which it is worked. No plan can succeed which violates the spirit of comprehension which is now dominant in the churches. On certain disputed points it is settled that there shall be liberty of opinion. The value of the new method will ultimately be decided by its success in conforming the appointment of missionaries to this judgment of the churches. We believe that this can be done without violating the doctrinal instructions given to the Committee at Des

¹ *The Andover Review*, October, 1887, pp. 411, 412.

Moines, Springfield, and New York, if due weight be given to the facts that at Des Moines there was adopted not a theological proposition, but only a cautionary rule, and that the action at Springfield is controlled by that at New York, and especially if the Committee realizes that the scope of its examination is defined and limited by the phrase of the Manual, "the leading doctrines of Scripture commonly held by the churches sustaining the Board." If it attempts to create a standard of examination and not simply to ascertain what standard the churches recognize and apply, it will commit the error which has compelled the Board to make "a radical change" in the long established method of examination, and protract a controversy which there is opportunity now finally and happily to close.

We may be pardoned for adding a word more personal to ourselves. It was from an intimate knowledge of the facts, and a clear conviction that the best interests of the Board were imperiled, that we entered with others on that criticism of its administration which has brought about the present result. It was a painful task, and has brought its share of reproach and alienation of feeling. We allude to this but for one reason. The result reached by the Investigating Committee rested upon a digest or collection of documents and testimonies which is in existence, though not published, and which compelled the assent of every member of the Committee to such a degree that all saw a change of method to be imperative. We have good reason to affirm that this body of evidence in the hands of the Committee more than justifies the criticism in which we have been compelled to participate. The facts are as we have again and again stated them, only more abundantly and cumulatively. The full knowledge of this evidence brought the Committee to unanimity. Directly or indirectly it revolutionized the action of the Board. Will not those brethren who have censured us in the past for the course we have taken, and to whose good-will we have not been indifferent, though under constraint to a higher law, reconsider their judgments, as we certainly desire to do our own if in any respect we have been led astray? And if in this editorial we have dwelt on matters which give occasion, rather for words of serious suggestion than of congratulation, compliment, and easy assurance of peace and good-will, will they not credit us at least with a supreme desire to see the American Board rise to its great opportunity and organize in a large, free, catholic way the missionary spirit of our Congregational churches, and enlist to the full the energies of consecrated young men and women in our higher institutions of learning? It is our assured conviction that an immense expansion of missionary endeavor simply waits for the call of a masterly leadership.

LETTERS AND LIFE.

This Department of the "Review" is under the editorial care of Professor
A. S. HARDY.

No student or even reader of the world's literature can afford to despise the world's traditions about its great books. Yet the function of tradition is rather to lead us into a state of mind open to the best influences than to govern our conclusions. For we stand personally, and therefore variously, related to the great inspirers and interpreters of humanity. We do not always derive the pleasure or the benefit we expected from one whom tradition has canonized. Many considerations which go to make up the general estimate of time have little weight with the individual, and on the other hand the individual has moods which the consensus of the ages neglects. The world has finished its childhood, and rates accordingly the nurses who once amused it with rattles and the tutors who first awakened its sense of right and beauty. But the individual, ever passing through experiences which the world has outlived, is in need of what that graybeard who has lost the privilege of being amused often terms "toys." His canons and his verdicts alter with his point of view, that is, with his necessities, — running now behind, now ahead, of the slowly changing findings of the race.

Every earnest reader, following out in literature, as he must, the Pauline injunction, "*Prove all things*," has butted against the stone tablets on which is written the calendar of literary greatness. He finds there the name of one who said wise things to his contemporaries, but who has no wisdom for him; of one who uttered ten great thoughts and ten thousand commonplace ones; of one whose importance is not absolute, but only that of a historical sequence; and he misses another, great in relation to him though not in relation to the ages, who speaks with all the fascination and power due to a common experience or temperament. Discriminations between literature of incidental and permanent value, between that which constitutes the enduring fountains of inspiration and that which affords a passing but real pleasure, between that worth reading and that worth imitating, will not and can not affect the selection of his library, as they must that of the hundred great books of the world. I, the man of leisure, will follow with delight the curious speculations of the Greek physicist; you, the busy practical man, will wonder how what has no bearing upon modern life can detain me. You, in the passage through some spiritual experience, will find sympathy and consolation, where I, in the arrogance of a temporary excess of mental health and vigor, see only morbidity and sentimentalism. In literature, as in food, there are fundamental elements of nutrition; but it does not follow that you and I will thrive on the same compounds or stomach the same sauces, and neither can prescribe a universal bill of fare for his fellows.

Then again, while we may leave the experiment which establishes the law of falling bodies to another, accepting the result without repeating the experiment, we can no more adopt at second hand an estimate, say of Tolstoi, than we can impose our own upon another. Intelligent affirmation concerning him implies a personal knowledge which is not to be obtained in literature, as in science, by proxy. It is refreshing to hear Professor Max Müller say: "If I were to tell you what I think of the best books, I am afraid you would call me the greatest literary heretic or an utter ignoramus. I know few books, if any, which I would call good from beginning to end. There are long passages even in Homer which seem to me extremely tedious, . . . and again I must confess that not a few of Goethe's writings seem to me not worth a second reading," — refreshing because such words reaffirm the independence and personality of literary judgments, and assert our right, after actual test, to the principle of selection. There are of course readers who seem to possess no organs of literary taste or digestion, since they are daily seen to swallow a Homer or a Goethe *en masse* without harm or profit. But to any one who reads in order, as Emerson somewhere says, to be better able to drive his own team, Professor Müller's words come with a fortifying approval. If we do not ourselves dare to utter such, it is not because we waive the right, or fear to be challenged to produce an Iliad, but because we distrust, as Professor Müller evidently did, the value to others of our own conclusions. Much, I take it, of the interest and value of literary criticism depends upon our knowledge of the critic, and of his point of view. We must know something of the mood which he brings to the judgment of the Iliad. Is he interested in it as a record of ancient faith and customs? or is he seeking in this storehouse of things forgotten the eternal laws of right and beauty? Is his vision limited to the strength and purity of a language? or is his ear listening only to the solemn music of the epic? Except as we know whether it is studied as the mirror of an epoch, as the song of a poet, or as the crude but splendid symbolism of eternal verities, the criticism can profit us but little. Short, arbitrary, unsigned dicta about books resemble the "I like it," or, "I don't like it," pronounced over a dish at table. One is ignorant whether the speaker is an epicure or a glutton. Emerson's essay on books is valuable because it is signed by Emerson, and because he is the honest recorder of a personal endeavor to determine what help for him was to be found in the traditionally great helpers of humanity, and is not generalizing individual experience into universal rules. Criticism which, so doing, lapses into dogmatism, may please if we agree with it, is apt to irritate if we dissent from it, and in neither case is very helpful.

After quoting the above words of Professor Müller, Mr. Howells expresses a hope for an edition of the British classics "reduced and exalted by the rejection of what is dull and indecent in them," the reading of

which will justify the feeling that one "knows English literature and is none the worse for it." Whereas it seems to us that Professor Müller's whole contention is for the right of personal test, and that while after reading such an edition as Mr. Howells suggests one might be none the worse, one could not be much the better. It is not necessary to drink all the dregs of life in order to attain a vigorous manhood; yet, as Sydney says, "all is but lip-wisdom which wants experience." Dullness and indecency is to be eschewed in literature as in life; but after allowing all due weight to the counsel and guidance of those who have gone before us, the winnowing must be done chiefly by ourselves and not altogether for us. The evolution of character is a process which we watch with solicitude; yet not even our solicitude will drive us to a system of education which seeks to remove from life all its temptations and regrets, all the sources of strength found in self-endeavor. So the formation of a sturdy literary judgment follows the same lines of self-selection. If Professor Müller's words mean anything, they mean that no one can finally separate the true from the false, or even the interesting from the tedious. As long as one may rightfully occupy so many different points of view in estimating an author, as long as we must come to him with such various needs, so long unity of thinking in criticism will be as far off as in speculative theology, and is not to be secured by bulls prescribing what is worth a second reading, or *auto-da-fés* of what is not. For if, in its literature, as in all else, our world is one of good and evil, ever since the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of it was first tasted, our salvation is worked out by the help of this very knowledge, that is by self-experience. A literary Eden is a pleasant dream, but under the conditions of life as it now is, we must read the pages not worth reading in order to know rightly those which are. The digestion of Goethe is like that of a food whose nutritive elements are secreted simultaneously with the process of elimination. It would not be difficult to frame an argument for such food-preparations as would save our organs all trouble, and in diseased conditions such preparations have their value. But for a daily diet under normal conditions, collections of "gems of thought" are apt to prove as nauseating as concentrated essences. Something of the vitalizing principle is found in the very correlation of the nutritious and the worthless, and growth in every direction is conditioned by the actual exercise of our faculties of selection and discrimination. Mr. Howells cannot certainly be serious in saying that "the time will come when an ultimate Sir John Lubbock will set down for us a list of the best hundred pieces instead of the best hundred books." The Standard Readers may subserve some good ends for the children we are so often reminded we once were, but the grown people we are now certified to be will continue to prefer the unabridged though "unwieldy immortals" to the reduced and exalted edition of them, for much the same reason that they prefer a steak to a concentrated beef extract. Helpful as criticism has often

been to us, we are quite sure, from the dismal failures of past effort in this direction, that the rejection of what is dull and indecent in literature would not leave us all that is worth reading, or, more exactly, would not find us in a condition to appreciate it. When we all respond to the same call, swim in the same currents, and obey the same winds, standards of universal application may appear for what is true and beautiful and interesting in literature. Meanwhile the ultimate Sir John Lubbock is a long way off, and the hundred pieces, even more than the hundred books, affront our power of choice and belittle our judgment.

The suggestion of a "reduced and exalted" edition of our authors reminds us also that books, like men, are instinct with personality. We may often wish that both were better, and there are cases where the elimination of a passage from one or a trait from the other would improve the original. But the use of the editorial scissors is generally as disastrous in its results as the moulding of a nature to our pattern. When A. has been made over and adjusted to B.'s standard, A. has disappeared. We love our favorite authors and friends as they are, not because we cannot discover room for improvement, not because we do not desire improvement, but because such must come from within as the voluntary response to external influences, and not *vi et armis*. The critic may use the pen to our profit; give him free use of the knife and he kills the subject. A shelf of expurgated and amended volumes would be the grave of our friends.

Literature is a life. We must know it face to face, else it is but a pale shadow. The sense of superiority which would dictate our reading, if genuine, owes its genuineness to that from which it seeks to withdraw us.

"Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

Arthur Sherburne Hardy.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS. SECOND SERIES.

IX. CHINA (*Continued.*)

THE most obviously important event in the history of Protestant missions in China for the last year is the Shanghai Conference. There had been but one previous general conference of Protestant missionaries in China. This was held in 1877, and was attended by 129 missionaries. The Shanghai Conference, which met in May last, from the 6th to the 20th, was composed of 432 missionaries, male and female, both sexes enjoying equal rights of deliberation and suffrage. Forty-two of the forty-three missionary organizations were represented in the Conference, besides the attendance of some independent missionaries, and of some twenty delegates from England and America. On account of this hetero-

geneousness of composition, some looked forward to the meeting with considerable apprehension, especially as some questions were to come before it as to which there had been grave divergences of judgment, particularly the great question of Bible translation. This has in former times caused so profound an alienation between different missionaries as to cut them off even from united prayer. But the Conference has been guided to such harmony of spirit and such unanimousness of results as assure us that henceforth the great body of the Protestant missionary force in China is, as to all vital interests, altogether one. We do not include the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who held altogether aloof. These good men would hardly be willing to own themselves Protestants, so that we may leave them out of the account.

In the "Advance" of July 24, 1890, Rev. Henry D. Porter, D. D., gives a very animated and enthusiastic account of the Conference, from which we shall quote largely. He says: "The time and place for the Conference were equally suitable. Shanghai is the London of the Far East. Its position, central to all mission stations, and easy of access by the many lines of coast and river steamers, make it the attractive point for such a meeting. Upon the noble estuary which unites with the great Yang-tse River, the situation is worthy of the immense expenditure in splendid buildings, well-metalled roads, electric lighting, and pure water service, which characterize 'the model settlement.' The municipality, 'a republic in all but name,' may well pride itself on its high place as an educational object lesson to the Chinese people."

The opening sermon was preached by the eminent founder of the China Inland Mission, the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor. The Rev. Arthur Elwin, writing to the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for September, 1890, remarks that the managing committee were "most anxious that this service should have been held in the cathedral, and that the sermon should have been preached by the Bishop of Mid China, but Bishop Moule did not find himself able to accede to their request." He was not even present at the Conference. Bishop Burdon, however, was present, and took an active part in the Conference, of which his "silvery head," as remarked by Dr. Porter, was a conspicuous ornament. Bishop Schereschewsky was also present. The "Intelligencer" says: "The C. M. S. missionaries there were few in number; but they write in strong terms of the spiritual blessing they received." Mr. Elwin remarks: "The prayer-meetings were conducted by various members of the Conference, but by some strange oversight no C. M. S. missionary nor American Episcopal missionary was asked to conduct one of them." About one fourth of the Conference were members of the China Inland Mission.

As in 1877, two chairmen of the Conference were chosen, — one English, one American. The English president was the Rev. David Hill, of the Wesleyan Mission, Hankow. The American president was the eminent Presbyterian missionary, Dr. Nevius. Dr. Porter remarks: "These two acting in absolute harmony secured unanimity and effectiveness in debate and business."

The Conference was in session twelve week-days, besides the two Sundays. Twelve topics (perhaps rather eleven) to the twelve days gave ample time for discussion. The topics were as follows: The Scriptures, The Missionary, Woman's Work, Medical Work and Charitable Institu-

tions, The Native Church, and Relation of Missions to the Chinese Government, Education, Literature, Comity in Mission Work, Ancestral Worship, Results of Work, Outlying Fields. "This elaborate and vast field of discussion," says Dr. Porter, "was brought successively to view and debate in sixty papers, more or less elaborate and exhaustive. It was of course impossible that these should be read in full. They were nearly all printed, and in the hands of the members, and five minutes were allotted to authors to present brief abstracts of their themes, with the privilege of reply at the close of debate upon them. To the ladies was accorded the privilege of reading their papers entire."

Two of the points brought up before the Conference, one explicitly, the other implicitly, as involved in the question of Bible translation, were the same which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, led to much discussion among the Roman Catholic missionaries in China, and the former of which, at least, resulted in such bitter animosities between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, that when Rome at length decided against the Jesuits, the Emperor, who was their friend, and who had strongly urged their view of the case before the Pope, set in motion a policy of persecution which endured until this century. These two points were, Ancestral Worship, and the right translation of the name of God. Among the Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, it is not the former question, but the latter, which has led to the deepest dissensions. Very often the adherents of one translation of the Divine Name, and their converts, have treated the adherents of the other translation and their converts as if they hardly knew how to recognize them as Christians at all. The late Bishop Boone, though a man of too deeply Christian a spirit to be misled into bitterness, declared that he could weep tears of blood, when he saw his brethren encouraging the Chinese Christians, instead of worshipping the One True God, to worship the chief god of the Chinese Pantheon, "the Lord of Heaven,"¹ — very much as if the early Christians, instead of using the generic term *theos* or *Deus*, had declared that they confined their worship to Jupiter or Zeus. On the other hand, the adherents of the term "Shang-Ti," — "Lord of Heaven," — declared that the term "Shin," which their opponents used for "God," has in it no implication of deity whatever, but merely means "spirit." And indeed the Chinese, who, though profoundly superstitious and idolatrous, are very irreligious, seem hardly to have any conception of a Divine Nature at the ground of the universe, of which the specific objects of their worship are polytheistically conceived as exemplifications. Had this been the state of things in the Roman world, the Christians would probably either have transferred the name of Jehovah or Elohim from the Hebrew, or would have chosen Zeus, and by constant explanations have brought the pagans to understand that they meant it in the sublime sense of the Hymn of Cleanthes, or, indeed, in a far sublimer sense. In the Finnish language, it appears that Jumala, the Finnish Jupiter, has become the accepted name of God, which seems to show that the arguments against the use of "Shang-Ti" lack force. The Roman Catholics have long since decided in favor of this, and the American missionaries in Northern China, at least those of the American Board, agree with them in use.

How large a part this variance of opinion as to the name of God has had in rendering old disputes over Bible versions so acrimonious we cannot now say. We see only one allusion to it in the sources now at our

¹ This statement is inaccurate. See Postscript.

command. When the proceedings of the Conference are published in full, we shall understand the matter better. But, apart from this, we know that a variety of Bible versions is apt to be a serious bar to unity of religious feeling. Most people, for instance, without thinking of the Apocrypha, speak of "the Catholic Bible" with a vague feeling that it is a different book from their own. The happy resolution of this burning question is indeed, as the venerable Dr. Happer, of Canton, the senior Protestant missionary of China, says, "The crowning work of the Conference." Dr. Porter says:—

"When the Delegates' version of the Bible in classical Chinese was rejected by the American Bible Society, because of its apparent unfaithfulness to the text of Scripture, and afterward the version of Drs. Bridgman and Culbertson (Dr. Wright calls him Cuthbertson) was accepted, a wide gap was opened between workers in China. Into this gap was thrown, in 1872 and 1874, the 'Mandarin Bible,' translated by a Union Committee. The large success of this version originated a hope that there might be a union also in a version less colloquial. Drs. Blodget and Burdon had made a version in a Simple Classical, and Dr. Griffith John had presented a similar one. Each of these had the Mandarin as its basis. Dr. Wright, the Editorial Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was sent out to attend the Conference, and to secure unity if desirable or possible. The desirability was so great that the question of possibility alone became prominent. Two committees were appointed, one to consider the Mandarin, the other the Classical. These committees met jointly. The hindrances, which were largely personal and historic, melted away before the hearty desire to secure the advantage of union. By mutual suggestion and concession the committee secured entire harmony. When the first report was presented, indicating a basis of union, the Conference were greatly affected. The chairman called upon the assembly to rise and sing, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.' It was as if 'a flash of the Divine Spirit passed over us.' Many were affected to tears of joy." Arrangements were made, and committees appointed, through which there will be assured a uniformity of method in preparing versions in the three styles which are held to be necessary, namely, Classical, Simple Classical, and Mandarin colloquial. The High Classical is to be the basis of commentaries, and is to be used in schools; the Simple Classical is intended for the ordinary use of educated people; and the Colloquial, doubtless, for the comparatively illiterate, the differences between the written and the spoken speech in China, we presume, creating difficulties which are hardly intelligible to us. The translators are to be guided by the texts used by our Revisers, but with liberty to prefer readings apparent in the Authorized Version. The original text being thus defined, they are, of course, to translate from it according to their own understanding of its meaning, so that the new Chinese Bible will not be a rendering of the English Bible. The aim will be to combine the elegance of the Delegates' Version, previously preferred by the English missionaries, with the greater exactness of the Bridgman and Culbertson Version, used by most of the Americans, though these translations will not be the basis of the triple version of the future. Dr. Porter says: "These reports were accepted successively without a dissenting voice; God's Spirit had guided the Assembly. From that moment the utmost of union and harmony prevailed, scarcely broken by the inconsiderate zeal of any member."

In or about 1615 the Jesuits obtained from the Pope a commission to translate the Bible, and another to translate the Mass, into Chinese. I am sorry to say that both these commissions have remained dormant until this day.

The subordinate question of Ancestral Worship was ventilated in the assembly, not without temporary recurrence of heated feeling, by occasion of a paper from Dr. Martin, a former missionary and now President of the Imperial College of Peking. Dr. Martin strongly pleaded for large toleration of the usage of Ancestral Worship, or, as he would doubtless express it, Homage to Ancestors. There has always been a certain wavering of opinion among the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, as to the question whether this really involves religious worship. The Jesuits, strongly supported by the Emperor, maintained that it is simply an act of filial and civil homage. The Dominicans maintained that it is really an invocation of deceased ancestors as gods. Rome took the latter view, and forbade it, though now that the Jesuits have recovered their influence, it is understood that she has tacitly let her decision drop. Mr. Sheffield says that there can be little or no doubt that, when once the vermilion pencil of the government has been drawn above the name of an ancestor in the ancestral tablet of the family, he, or she, is regarded as thenceforth a deity, and is invoked as such. "Such a conclusion," says Dr. Porter, "met the overwhelming approval of the Conference," in agreement with Dr. Blodget's paper, which "presented a careful historical study, with abundant quotations from the earliest mention of the rite, pointing to the inevitable conclusion that ancestral worship is 'superstitious and idolatrous.'" Confucius, it is true, agreeably to his intense secularism, doubted very much whether our ancestors still exist, but warmly approved of rendering worship to them "as if they existed." Idolatry does not become more excusable by the worshiper's doubt as to whether or not the object of his adoration has any actual being.

William Wright, D. D., the Secretary of the Bible Society, who is mentioned above as having gone out from London to attend the Conference, adds, in an article written for the "Sunday-school Times," of August 16, 1890, that, "A committee has also been appointed to bring out a paragraph Bible, with sectional headings and necessary explanations. . . . The Conference also appointed a representative committee for the production of an annotated Bible which will not only be a fitting companion to the union Bible, but will supply a long-felt want. One text for all these versions will be followed, and the various translation committees will form one committee, as far as the text to be followed is concerned." It will be an interesting question how far the Bible Societies will be amenable to this wish of the Conference for annotated editions of the Scriptures. "The Bible without note or comment" has become a watchword with them, and like other watchwords may strangle in one direction as well as help in another. The "Chronicle of the London Missionary Society" says: "The following words of an influential friend of the British and Foreign Bible Society represent the prevailing opinion amongst men worthy to be heard: 'I should rejoice if a generous interpretation could be given to our rules, which were constructed with a view to Bible distribution in Christian countries, dominated by ecclesiastical systems, but which are, in my judgment at least, entirely unsuitable to heathen countries.'"

It was also resolved to prepare versions in raised letters for the blind on the basis of the new appointments.

The essential unity of evangelical Protestant missions, capable of melting down the deepest and most inveterate differences in common conference and devotion, was illustriously shown forth in this happy conclusion. Such an assembly may, without irreverence, say of such a resolution, claiming no new revelation, but an evident direction: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." Corporate unity is often good, but this is something better than corporate unity. In an important sense, however, corporate unity has also been secured. A Committee of Correspondence has been appointed "with authority to act for the Conference in a variety of matters." And a permanent Committee on Comity has also been appointed, which seems to be intended as a kind of court of appeal in disputes between the societies.

"The Rev. Dr. Young J. Allen," says the "*Chronicle*," "gave a very able paper on 'The Changed Aspect of China.' 'Special prominence was given to the wide scope and great value of the treaties regarding extra-territoriality, which was treated as the lever by which China is yet to be brought into the comity of Christian nations. The duties entailed upon the missionary body by the changes in China were shown to be unity in a wide and effective way; an organ for the native church; a uniform series of school and text books; a national Christian University; and a wise division of labor.'"

"It was decided that a memorial to the Emperor of China should be drawn up and signed by every member of Conference, congratulating him on his accession to the throne, expressing earnest wishes for his long and prosperous reign, and prayer on his behalf for God's protection and blessing, also explaining briefly the tenets of Christ's holy religion, as well as determination to inculcate the principles of loyalty not only amongst the native Christians, but amongst all classes with whom missionaries come in contact."

"A native pastor" — we still quote from the "*Chronicle*" — "pleaded with great effect that the Chinese should be treated with consideration, patience, and forbearance." These few words indicate the shadow which everywhere accompanies missionary work. The French, perhaps, is the only European race that has ever succeeded in making itself loved by the races among which it has borne authority, temporal or spiritual. Next to it, perhaps, comes the American. The late Lord Shaftesbury once said in public that the Americans were preëminent above all others in knowledge of the languages, knowledge of the habits, and respect for the feelings of the peoples of the East. He meant particularly the Levant. Yet we have received a good many letters from Armenians in Turkey, which show either that they are a most unreasonable race, or that we are still a good way short of Gallic amiability and considerateness in our dealings with them. Doubtless both assumptions are true. And indeed the best of Saxons would hardly be a Saxon if there were not left in his demeanor towards a less advanced people something of churlishness and some disposition to browbeat, with an occasional exception in which individual amiability overcomes the type of the race. If this is true of us it is far more decidedly true of the English, as they themselves acknowledge and lament. This deep defect is the shadow of their strength. And as it is the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race which mainly work in China, this Chinese pastor doubtless spoke out of a feeling experience. May his words find a lasting echo in the consciences of both Englishmen and Americans!

The "Chronicle" adds: "A careful comparison of the present state of China Missions with that reported in 1877 will satisfy any one how much more promising every form of effort is becoming. All sides of native life are being touched, confidence is growing, and a marvelous advance is made in movements for the uplifting of woman. There are many forms of educational progress. Best of all, there is the reproduction by natives of the new life and work so recently made known to them."

We observe from the "Missionary Herald" that by occasion of the Conference the medical missionaries in China had also a medical conference of three days, said to have been of great interest. There are now, it seems, one hundred and one medical missionaries in China, of whom thirty-four are ladies. As Medical Missions are of American origin, their rapid growth is a matter of special gratification to us. It was the sense of the general Conference that medical missionaries should not be ordained to the *pastoral* office, but, in those churches which have several orders of the ministry, should be content with deacon's orders.

The Rev. Arthur Elwin, in the "Intelligencer," remarks: "Several of the visitors from England and America told me they had attended a good many Conferences, but not one where the spirit of brotherly love and unity was so marked, nor one where more business had been got through or more definite results attained. . . .

"The present state of the opium question was fully discussed in Conference, and a committee appointed to promote the formation of anti-opium societies, to check the growth and sale of opium." It should be remembered that, of 400,000,000 Chinese,¹ it is estimated that 150,000,000 are now more or less addicted to the use of opium. Curiously, it is said that almost every Buddhist abbot is an opium-smoker, while in Japan the use of opium is rigorously interdicted to all ranks of Buddhist monks. The eminent German missionary, Dr. Faber (whom we perceive to have been conspicuous in the Conference, as might have been expected), while not extenuating the guilt of England in giving the immediate occasion to the spread of this vice, is yet inclined to regard it as the sign of a deep exhaustion of the Chinese constitution from the prevalence of sexual intemperance. The yellow race may increase inordinately upon the world, or may suddenly fail and become extinct.

"The very serious increase in the use of alcoholic liquors among the Chinese Christians in some parts of the Empire," says Mr. Elwin, "was brought to the notice of Conference, and a committee was appointed to consult as to the best steps to be taken in this matter.

"An educational association was formed of practical teachers to consult as to the preparation of school-books, scientific terminology, and all matters concerning the education of the young. . . .

"Statistics of mission work in China were most carefully collected and presented to Conference. Perhaps the following may be here referred to. There are at present forty-two different missionary organizations at work in China. On January 1, 1890, there were probably 1,295 missionaries in China. There were about 37,287 native communicants, while the contributions of the native Christians for the year 1889 amounted to \$36,884. Probably in English money this would average about three shillings (\$0.72) for each church member; but it must not be forgotten that a contribution of three shillings in China would mean

¹ If there are so many.

really a considerably larger sum than three shillings contributed in England. There were 209 ordained ministers and 1,440 unordained male and female helpers. There were 61 hospitals; 43 dispensaries; while the patients attended to during the past year amounted to 348,439. There were 16,816 pupils in Christian schools; 1,454 Bibles, 22,402 New Testaments, 642,131 portions were distributed during the year." It must be that Mr. Elwin deducts from the helpers 354 as not being exactly missionaries.

Various earnest appeals have been addressed by the Conference to Christians at home. "One of these," says the "Intelligencer," "calls for 'many hundreds of qualified ordained men'; another pleads for hundreds of lay evangelists; a third, sent forth by the lady missionaries present, appeals for Christian women; and a fourth definitely asks for *one thousand additional missionaries within five years.*"

The Committee on Lay Agency, after pointing out the many ways in which Christian laymen can advance the cause of the gospel in China, as Bible colporteurs, as teachers in general, as incumbents of college chairs, as physicians, adds: "We appeal then to our lay brethren of the Home Churches, to men of sterling piety, of strong common sense, that they would lay to heart the needs of this vast country, its spiritual destitution, its stunted education, its physical distress, and that they would solemnly ask themselves whether for the greater glory of God they are not called to meet this pressing need and to devote themselves, their service, and their wealth, to this missionary enterprise in China. We would offer to them a hearty welcome to our ranks, and would assure them that, whether they come as ordained or as lay workers, this welcome will be equally cordial, and in conclusion we would earnestly pray that this appeal may be brought home to the hearts of many by the power of the Divine Spirit."

It may be that we find a certain analogon of the two classical versions purposed by the Conference in our two versions, of which the Revised is largely becoming the basis of popular commentaries and explanatory notes, while that of 1611 seems likely to remain indefinitely the Bible of popular use. The patois Bible once used by the Moravians in Jamaica, and still used by them, I have heard, in Demerara, might furnish a rude similitude to the Chinese colloquial version. The Mandarin, as I understand, is a sort of *lingua franca* in the empire, mingling elements of various Chinese dialects in official intercourse, and thus serving as a basis of communication throughout the provinces, at least of the north, which is decidedly the more significant part of China, as containing the present capital, the ruling race of the Manchus, and the more strongly built race of the Chinese, who have also more moral and spiritual susceptibility, and are less hostile to foreign influences than the people of the south. They seem also to be above all exposed to the great calamities of flood and famine, which may in the end do as much towards regenerating national life as they once did around the Mediterranean. It must be understood, of course, that these remarks about the versions are largely conjectural, and await confirmation or correction from authority. They may serve, even in their inaccuracy, to illustrate in a measure the apparent strangeness of arrangements made to prepare three versions for one nation. Indeed, strictly speaking, there are to be various popular versions on the basis of the Mandarin, as the spoken Chinese language diverges as widely in various provinces as the various German dialects, which, indeed, we

might almost call the various German languages. The now authorized form of German, it will be remembered, was built up by Luther on a sort of Mandarin *lingua franca*, developed in official intercourse between the different German courts. Were the common people of Germany no better educated than the common people of China, it would be necessary, on the basis of Luther's Bible, to prepare, say a Plattdeutsch Bible, a Suabian Bible, and a Swiss Bible, and doubtless various others, for the use of the peasantry.

Of the various evening addresses made to the Conference, and to the large number of resident foreigners who joined in entertaining its members, that which seems to have made the deepest impression, by its depth and brilliancy, was the address of the Rev. Arthur H. Smith, of the North China Mission of the American Board, on The Relation of Christianity to Universal Progress. Deep interest was also felt in the address of Miss Jessie Ackerman, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Mr. Wishard, as representative of the Young Men's Christian Association, gave an account of the awakening of missionary interest among the students of this country. We perceive from the missionary magazines, especially of the continent, that our brethren abroad are building greatly on this. God grant that of so many that have put their hand to the plough no unreasonably large number may turn back.

It is no wonder that Shanghai was chosen as the place of meeting, for, as Dr. Porter informs us, its members from abroad were welcomed by a body of seventy missionaries located in Shanghai for the many branches of the work. He says, moreover: "The China Inland Mission have just dedicated a series of fine buildings on the north side of the Foochow River. This is to be the centre of the work henceforth. It is the gift of one of their own devoted adherents, whose abundant means are dedicated to the Lord, and has cost \$40,000. In the fine lawn of this inclosure the Conference met one evening at five to receive the hospitality of this mission. Brief addresses and songs with band music filled the hour.

"The sessions closed on Tuesday, May 20. The last meeting was held in the evening. Rev. Dr. Blodget led very tenderly and impressively. He related an anecdote of General Gordon, who was in Tientsin in 1860, a fellow-sojourner then unknown to fame. Gordon ascribed his spiritual awakening to Major Gray, a dear friend of the speaker. So our lives may set great hearts or great impulses in active movement toward God. . . . A dozen and more spoke briefly, earnestly, tenderly of the Conference and its impressive record of purpose, of vigor, of harmony, and of devotion."

The shadow of a terrible casualty passed for a moment over the Conference. With the view of photographing most of the missionaries attendant a bamboo staging had been put up, in several stories. While some three hundred were standing on it, it collapsed entirely. A number of severe injuries were received, but none permanent. Although many ladies were in the group, and some fell twelve others twenty feet, it was remarked that not a shriek was heard. As one lady said: "I thought I was summoned to meet my King; then why should I have shrieked?"

Dr. Porter remarks: "The Conference of May 6-20 has left a memorable mark upon Christian progress in the East. This was the largest Christian assembly ever held this side of India. Four hundred and thirty men and women, fellow-workers in the vast field representing the forty several societies that share in the work, met for mutual delibera-

tion, to plan large things for the upbuilding of the latent spiritual life of a nation."

As the use of the Anglican Cathedral was withheld, and the opening sermon not preached by the resident Bishop, the introductory services, as well as the subsequent deliberations, took place in the Lyceum Theatre, there being no other building, except the cathedral, of sufficient size. Among the more conspicuous members of the Conference are to be mentioned additionally, Dr. Edkins, of philological note, Mr. Muirhead, Dr. Ashmore, Dr. A. Williamson, "with his majestic form, giant among his brethren," Dr. Mateer, Dr. Boone, and Dr. Kerr, as physicians. Among the ladies, the papers of Mrs. Arthur Smith, Miss Noyes, Miss Haygood, Miss Cushman, and Miss Ricketts, are particularly mentioned. Mr. Fryer also had an important paper, on Scientific Terminology.

But all come back to the central question: "The possibility of securing a single standard version of the Bible in Classical and Mandarin." "Upon this theme the best thought was centered. Out of this the Conference has gained its highest point of union. Its decision closes a controversy of forty years, and marks a distinct epoch in missionary effort and progress."

The Rev. Arthur Elwin of the Church of England writes: "The closing meeting will certainly never be forgotten by any who were present at it. . . . I came to the Conference knowing very few, but I should go back to Hangechow knowing that from Canton in the south to Peking in the north I now had friends in every part of China; those of whom I had heard or read in time past, I had now met face to face; and although we must wait until all the mists had rolled away before we should know one another perfectly, yet during the Conference the mists had been gradually rolling back, and we should all go home feeling that we knew each other better than we had ever done before."

The recent reports of the Propaganda show the present number of Roman Catholic Christians in China to be about 544,000, a slight relative recession for the last few years. The number of Protestant Christians, though small as yet, has been advancing by large percentages of increase for several decades. Fifty years ago there were hardly any native Protestants in China. But there seems to be little concern to advance Protestantism; the great end is to advance Christianity, which, of course, must take place in one of its great distinctive forms.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

POSTSCRIPT. — Through the kindness of Dr. E. E. Strong, of the American Board, I am able to correct the inaccuracies of my text. "Lord of Heaven" translates "Tien-chu," which is used by the Roman Catholics, and has been adopted by almost all the Americans everywhere in China. "Shang-ti," to which Bishop Boone objected so strenuously on the grounds given in the body of the report, — grounds sustained by Dr. S. Wells Williams — has nevertheless been adopted by the English, and the two nations have agreed to disagree. "Shin," which Bishop Boone thought might easily be elevated to the meaning of "God," leaving "ling" to be used for "spirit," has failed of adoption on either side. The common version, therefore, will use "Tien-chu" or "Shang-ti" according as it is printed in America or England.

C. C. S.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION AT THE ROOMS OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.

THE committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Board "to inquire into the methods of administration pursued at the Missionary Rooms at Boston, and to recommend any changes which shall appear to them useful or important," respectfully and unanimously report:—

In fulfillment of the duty entrusted to us your committee have held four sessions, three of them at the Missionary Rooms in Boston,—two of several days continuance; have examined the Records of the Prudential Committee and of the Treasurer; have read the papers and correspondence in nearly all the cases of applicants for missionary appointment whose cases have been made the topic of public comment, and of some others besides; have sought and gained access to whatever documents were on file in the rooms which were deemed of importance as bearing upon the business in hand, and have conducted a considerable correspondence with officers of the Board, missionaries, pastors, college and theological professors, and others who seemed likely to be able to impart information of value in arriving at just conclusions in the delicate and weighty matters entrusted to us to consider.

Invitations for personal conference were extended to the chairman of the Prudential Committee and any of its members. As the result of these overtures to these and other standing officers of the Board, your committee had the pleasure of meeting the chairman of the Prudential Committee and two of its members, each of the three Secretaries and the Field Secretary for New England, individually; and the chairman of the Committee, the three Secretaries, the Field Secretary, and Treasurer, collectively.

The absence from town of the Editorial Secretary was, we are informed, the only reason for our failure to meet him in company with his associates.

Sub-committees of your committee had also repeated interviews with some one or more officers of the Board—secretaries, treasurer, editorial secretary, and auditors—in the earnest endeavor to obtain from all quarters, and especially from the responsible functionaries of the Board itself, whatever light could be shed on the subject matters of inquiry.

These investigations we have endeavored to prosecute with fairness and impartiality; and, so far as we are aware in all cases, when the action of any officer of the Board was specifically impugned in statements made to the committee, we have endeavored to give opportunity for explanation and answer.

In these endeavors we desire to say your committee were efficiently aided by the representatives of the Board. The submission to our protracted use of the Prudential Committee room of the society, the tender to our access of all documents in the archives, the free accordance of all necessary clerical aid or official explanation and guidance, indicated the readiness of the occupants of the Missionary Rooms to coöperate in the business devolved upon us, and laid your committee under sensible obligations.

The Resolution under which your committee were instructed to act called upon them "to inquire into the methods of administration pursued at the Missionary Rooms in Boston, and to recommend any changes which shall appear to them useful or important."

In the fulfillment of this commission our inquiries were directed to these methods of administration as manifested chiefly in three particulars: the method employed in making and preserving the Records and Documents of the Board; the methods used in Financial affairs; and the methods pursued in the Examination and Approval of Candidates for Missionary Service.

Other collateral and subsidiary matters, some of them of considerable importance, came also, as your committee conceived, within the scope of their inquiries, and received a portion of their careful attention; but these three points, and what is involved in them, seemed to be the more important ones, and it is primarily with certain statements and recommendations concerning these that we especially have to do in this report.

I. With regard to the first of these particulars—the methods pursued in making and preserving the Records and Documents of the Board, we cannot too highly praise the general satisfactoriness of the system employed in the documentary department of the organization. So far as the committee had opportunity to test the matter, the faithfulness with which all papers are preserved and the ease with which they are referred to leave nothing to be desired.

In the many cases of application for missionary appointment, reaching over quite a number of years, to which there was occasion to appeal, every paper, whatever its bearing, seemed to be in its place, and the whole correspondence capable of easy review. Your committee have no reason to doubt that equal accuracy characterizes all the many hundreds of other cases we had no occasion to investigate, and that it is, as a general fact, characteristic of all departments of the Board in reference to its documentary memorials.

Some suggestions regarding the single point of the present manner of making and keeping the Prudential Committee's Record—a manner which seemed capable of amendment—we have thought proper to communicate directly to that Committee.

II. Turning to the Financial department of our inquiries, we find that the general plan of administration in the Treasury of the Board commends itself to approbation.

The usual time of delay in closing the books beyond the ending of the financial year, on the 31st of August, has been eight days—in some instances a day or two longer. This has been done that contributions intended for the closing year, but delayed in transmission, might be included in the accounts. Such contributions have, for the most part, been small in amount, mainly from churches, some of them from the far West. No considerable objection would seem to oppose itself to an actual closing of the books on the 31st of August—beyond the loss of the amount credited to the single year of the change—except that a church remitting its collection late one year and early the next might have two collections included in one year's account and none in the other. It is worthy of consideration whether this is an objection sufficient to offset the possible misconstructions and misunderstandings incident to a delay at all in closing the books after the precise ending of the financial year, especially when an advantage would be gained in giving the Treasurer and the committee on the Treasurer's accounts the additional time in which to fulfill their respective duties before the meeting of the Board.

The Otis and Swett legacies appear to have been used in accordance

with the instructions of the Board. The usage has been to make the appropriations of money from these legacies early in the year, for new missions and special work; leaving the general work to be provided for from contributions, legacies, and income from invested funds, the sufficiency or insufficiency of which constitutes the treasury balance or the treasury deficiency at the close of the year.

In the particular year in which the Otis legacy was received, and before the action of the Board providing for its specially designated uses, considerable demands from the missionaries had been denied; contributions simultaneously fell off, partially probably in consequence of tidings of the bequest, and a serious disaster was threatened. When the Otis money came, the missionary appropriations before denied were immediately allowed, and enough more was drawn from the legacy to meet the year's deficiency — sums together aggregating about \$166,000. At the next annual meeting the Board prescribed the conditions of the future use of this fund; conditions which we believe to have been complied with.

In view, however, of the necessary complex and extended character of the accounts of an institution like the Board, and the importance of full and accurate understanding of its affairs at every annual meeting, your committee cannot but feel that the present custom of appointing a Financial Committee to pass upon the accounts of the year at the same meeting at which those accounts are rendered, is a custom which ought to be changed.

We think it desirable that the Committee on the Treasurer's report be appointed by the Board the year before they are called upon to act, and that the report of the Treasurer be sent as soon as it is ready to each member of the committee for inspection, and that any desired information may be asked for.

We advise also that the present by-law — by-law 17 of the last published edition of Charter and By-laws — which permits the Auditors to employ an expert in the examination of the Treasurer's accounts, be made mandatory.

But while your committee take pleasure in testifying to the fidelity with which the financial interests of the Board are administered, we cannot hide from ourselves, nor do we deem it right to withhold from you, the fact that there is much in the general financial condition of the Board to awaken solicitude.

An examination of the comparative tables, which are here incorporated with and made a part of this report, is suggestive of serious considerations. The period covered is 1880 to 1889 inclusive, — the latest period for which statistics of all the benevolent organizations brought into review are accessible. (*See tables on p. 544.*)

These tables present the receipts of the Board from all sources for the last ten years, in comparison with the number and membership of our churches, and the receipts for the same period of the other benevolent societies of our denomination. There is also joined with these statistics of our own body a similar statement of the bestowments to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In these tables fractions under fifty cents are omitted; over fifty cents are reckoned as one dollar.

From these tables it distinctly appears that, including donations from the churches and the Woman's Boards — leaving out legacies which can hardly be considered as indicative of the immediate feeling of the

churches, and special gifts for particular objects — the Board received in round numbers during the first three years of the decade under review — viz., 1880, 1881, and 1882 respectively — three hundred and forty-two, three hundred and forty-four, and three hundred and forty-one thousand dollars. In 1883 this amount was increased to three hundred and eighty-six thousand dollars; a figure, however, which the similar contributions of only two of the years since that date have equaled, while four of these years have fallen very considerably below.

While this is true, we find the contributions of the Home Missionary Society increasing in these ten years from \$266,000 to \$542,000; the American Missionary Association from \$136,000 to \$189,000; the Congregational Union from \$37,000 to \$86,000; the Sunday-School and Publishing Society from \$8,000 in 1882 to \$46,000 in 1889; the College Society from \$12,000 to \$19,000; the New West Commission from \$23,000 in 1882 to \$62,000 in 1889.

Meantime, also, this decade of years has seen the increase of our churches from 3,745 to 4,689; and of our church membership from 384,000 to 491,000.

These facts seem clearly to indicate that in its relation to the benevolence of our churches and its grasp upon their resources, the Board has virtually stood still, while the other agencies of our denominational enterprise have made an advance in the aggregate of about eighty per cent. With an increase in our church membership of over 107,000 no corresponding increase has accrued to the treasury of this society. From 1880 to 1889 our membership grew more than thirty per cent.; our direct contributions from the churches and the Woman's Boards grew less than fourteen per cent.

Our Presbyterian brethren have in the same period increased their contributions for foreign missions — not including legacies, Sunday-school, or special gifts — from \$385,000 in 1880, to \$572,000 last year, which was considerably the smallest sum received for several years.

Had the contributions of the churches to the Board increased during the decade in review in proportion as other Congregational contributions have increased, we ought, instead of an income from this source — apart from legacies and special gifts — of the \$387,000 of 1889, to have had \$696,000; which with the special gifts, legacies, and appropriations from the Otis and Swett bequests remaining only the same, without a dollar of increase, would have brought up the grand total of that year to \$994,000, instead of the \$685,111 actually reported.

Meantime the obvious fact is before all eyes that the great Otis and Swett bequests, which have been drawn upon so liberally for several years past to prevent what would otherwise have been a serious deficiency, are rapidly becoming exhausted. At the present rate of their employment this current year they can avail, in the case of the Otis bequest, for only about two and a half years more, and in the Swett legacy less than nine months. What is to be done then becomes a practical and serious inquiry.

Your committee refrain from any expression of opinion or conjecture in reference to the condition of comparative financial infirmity which these facts testify. We content ourselves with expressing the conviction that, however explained, there is in them a powerful argument of urgency that if there be alienations from the Board they be reconciled, and that every reasonable means be employed to deepen and strengthen

the hold upon the hearts of our churches of the cause of foreign missions and of this its ancient representative.

These convictions receive a powerful reinforcement from the fact developed in the course of our inquiries, that even this year, when the hope of larger bestowals than in the few years past has been cherished, and to some degree realized, it has nevertheless been deemed necessary by the Prudential Committee to reduce the pledges for the general work of the foreign fields — below the carefully made estimates of their actual necessities, based on the reports of the missionaries on the ground — to the extent of sixteen per cent. in old fields, and thirty-two per cent. in new work. Such a result, involving disappointment to overburdened missionaries, curtailment of well-devised plans, discharge of native helpers, and crippling of endeavor at its most promising stage, cannot, however caused, be other than a deplorable calamity.

As one way hopefully to avoid such a necessity in the future, your committee deem it very important that every effort be employed to bring home to the churches the danger and the injury of such impairment of the work. No method seems to be so likely to be successful for this purpose as the impartation of information on this and other aspects of missionary necessity, by the direct address of those concerned in the cause. In the past year the labors of the District and Field Secretaries have been especially fruitful of good results pecuniarily and otherwise. We believe that a considerable increase of force employed in this manner would be a wise outlay both for the churches and the Board. Such an outlay we recommend.

III. The third point of inquiry toward which the attention of your committee was directed is the method pursued in the Appointing of Missionaries.

It is hardly necessary to say that this brings us into contact with a subject of great interest and importance. It was the importance of this subject and the intense interest felt concerning it, as manifested in all the annual meetings of the Board for the last four years, which primarily led to the appointment of this committee. Nor has our estimate of the significance of the matter been lessened by the inquiries we have made. However judgments may differ as to the causes which have led to the condition of affairs calling for inquiries like the present, it is impossible to disguise the fact that a state of disquietude exists in reference to the existing methods of ascertaining the qualifications of candidates for missionary service which is detrimental to the interests of the Board and of the missionary cause.

Your committee have no desire to spread before you, unless it be necessary, the evidences which they possess of a degree of alienation from the present administration of the Board existent among some of our churches, our pastors, our educational institutions, and the young men and women of our colleges and seminaries, which, whether reasonable or unreasonable, we all alike deplore. Such evidences in authentic form, and to some considerable extent acquired from the archives of the Board itself, are in the hands of the committee.

It is well known that there are divided counsels in the Secretarial offices and at the Prudential Committee table, which have necessarily attracted public notice, and weakened the hold of this organization upon the public confidence.

Your committee do not feel disposed to add to the flames of contro-

versy by dwelling on matters which, on this platform and elsewhere, have been made the subject of animated, and even heated, debate. The task is not laid upon us of sitting in judgment upon the officers of the Board personally, or of making up a verdict of censure or approval in relation to their proceedings. We are concerned with a system of administration, and not with the merits or alleged delinquencies of individuals — a system which, though it has been long in use, we think may easily be improved.

It is a disputed question whether the interpretation attached by the major part of the officers of the Board to the instructions given, first at Des Moines, then at Springfield, and finally in New York, is tenable, in view of the phraseology used on those occasions and the light thrown on the import of those instructions by the accompanying explanations. It is a disputed question whether the action of the Prudential Committee in dealing with applicants since the meetings referred to, as well as before, has or has not been unduly rigid. There is a difference of opinion upon the question, whether there have or have not been occasions when a different course from that which the majority of the Committee adopted might not have opened the way to a just and honorable peace.

Your committee do not deem it necessary to enter into these questions, however interesting they may be, or to communicate any impressions respecting them which may have been left on any of their minds in the course of these investigations. The materials for forming a conclusion on these points are very largely in the hands of the public. Our chief concern is with the future.

Looking at the matter in this light, we are led to remark that the legitimate object of an inquiry by the officers of the Board into the theological opinions of applicants for missionary service is to ascertain whether they are conformed essentially to the doctrines commonly received by the churches.

We are united in the judgment that it is incompatible with the character of the Board, as a non-ecclesiastical body, for its officers to frame creeds or statements of theological belief, under whatever title, to be submitted to candidates for appointment. Such a course is not to be approved, even though it be, as alleged, not to impose articles of faith upon the applicant, but simply to aid him in presenting his own belief. And we are happy to state that, so far as the Home Secretary is concerned, the committee received the voluntary assurance that he will henceforth defer to this view.

Your committee do not feel called on to ascertain or to communicate all the causes which may have produced the difficulties and dissensions under which, of late, the Board has labored, nor to determine to what extent these troubles are due to modes of administration which might be improved, the system itself remaining unchanged. Enough to say, that, in our judgment, the entire existing system of procedure with candidates, as far as it relates to theological views, is one which requires to be modified. Such modification, after earnest, and we may perhaps not improperly add prayerful, deliberation on this important matter, we are prepared unanimously to propose. The change we suggest is one which we regard as not only better in itself than the method now in use, but one which we are convinced the present condition of the Board's affairs renders indispensably necessary.

As a part of this proposed change we think it desirable that a modifi-

cation of Questions 1 and 2, Section VI, of the Manual for Missionary Candidates should be made, so that they will read as follows : —

Question I. What are your views respecting each of the leading doctrines of Scripture commonly held by the churches sustaining this Board? In answering this question you may use your own language or refer to any creeds of acknowledged weight.

Question II. Have you any views at variance with these doctrines, or any views of Church government which would prevent your cordial co-operation with the missionaries of this Board?

As at present standing these questions read respectively : —

1. What in your view are the leading doctrines of the Scriptures?

2. Have you doubts respecting any of the doctrines commonly held by the churches under the care of the Board, or any views relating to Church government, which would prevent your cordially recognizing as ministers of Christ the missionaries employed by the Board?

The object of the first of these changes — that in Question 1 of the Manual — is to try to secure from the candidate a fuller statement of his personal convictions respecting the Scripture doctrines commonly entertained by our churches than would necessarily be elicited by the simple inquiry, as it now stands, what those doctrines are. In point of fact, the question as it now reads is sometimes answered by a bare list of names, such as Repentance, Faith, Atonement, Justification, Sanctification, and the like. The aim of the proposed change is to lead the candidate more readily to state in his own way, and more fully, his position respecting the doctrines of Scripture held by himself and by the churches. The change is, in a word, in the interest of a more complete, voluntary, and untrammelled explication of the candidate's personal religious convictions.

The change in the second question is for the purpose of removing a form of interrogatory which, however long continued, your committee cannot but deem unhappy in its tendency, and objectionable in its use. "Have you doubts?" is an inquiry suited in its very nature to perplex a sensitive conscience, and to disquiet even an indolent one. Who has not at times doubts respecting many things concerning which he is, on the whole and in a large practical way, nevertheless persuaded? We think the interrogatory, as formulated in the Manual at present, is not only calculated to raise doubts and create perplexities, but that it opens the way for the possibility of embarrassing the candidate's convictions and conscience, which ought to be effectually guarded against.

Provision having been made in the first question, as amended, for ascertaining the applicant's real convictions concerning the Scripture doctrines commonly held by the churches, it seems quite sufficient in the next question to inquire, "Have you any views at variance with these doctrines, or any views of Church government which would prevent your cordial co-operation with the missionaries of this Board?"

These changes in the phraseology of Questions 1 and 2, Sec. VI, of the Manual, being understood as a part of your committee's proposal, it is further our opinion that all applications for missionary appointment should be made, as now, to the Corresponding Secretaries of the Board, who should ask for and receive from the candidate the usual testimonials respecting fitness for missionary service, and answers to questions proposed in the Manual. But no attempt should be made to induce candidates to modify their expressed theological opinions.

The communications thus received by the Secretaries should be presented forthwith to the Prudential Committee. In case the Committee shall think it needful to make further scrutiny into the theological opinions of candidates, this should be had through an interview with the Committee as a body, or in case this, in any special instance, is not practicable, with a sub-committee appointed by them from their own number, and consisting in part of laymen. At such theological examination by the Committee, or sub-committee, the doors should be open for the presence of any members of the Board or personal friends of the candidate.

The effect of this arrangement, if faithfully carried out, will be to leave the entire question of the theological fitness of candidates exclusively with the Prudential Committee, where even now the responsibility of the decision rests. Should the Committee at any time be thought to be unreasonably lax, or unreasonably rigid in the discharge of their function, it is in the power of the Board to apply a remedy, inasmuch as the term of office of the Committee is but a single year.

Your committee cannot conclude this report without reiterating their deep conviction of the gravity of the present situation in the affairs of the Board, and their sense of the imperative necessity for arriving at some just and honorable basis of agreement if the Board is to continue to be the instrument of the united constituency it has hitherto represented in the missionary work. Such a just and honorable basis we believe we have presented in the recommendations we have made. In arriving at them we have endeavored to be solicitously careful of the convictions and feelings of all. We have impeached no one's motives. We have listened to no unanswered accusations. We have endeavored to manifest, as we certainly have felt, a grateful sense of obligation to the members of the Prudential Committee for their gratuitous and laborious service in the work entrusted to them, and to the other officers of the Board for their devotion to their arduous service. It is not in the spirit of partisanship that we have met the questions which have been presented to us, nor is it now in any other than a spirit of loyalty to the Board, and to the great Christian cause it represents, that we leave with you the recommendations we unitedly make in the earnest hope of their acceptance and adoption.

With the brief recapitulation of such of these recommendations as seem to demand formal action by vote we conclude our report.

We recommend the adoption of the following resolutions : —

Resolved First : That the Committee on the Treasurer's Report be appointed by the Board at the annual meeting next previous to the meeting at which such committee is called on to act, and that a copy of the report of the Treasurer be sent, as soon as it is ready, to each member of the committee for inspection, and that any desired information may be asked for.

Resolved Second : That By-law 17, p. 12, of the last published edition of the Charter and By-laws be amended so that the last sentence of it shall read, instead of "they [the Auditors] shall have authority at any time to employ an expert in the particular examination of the accounts," — "The Auditors shall annually employ an expert in the examination of the Treasurer's accounts."

Resolved Third : That there be a substantial increase of the force employed by the Board to bring the interests of its missions and the cause it represents before the churches contributing to its support.

Resolved Fourth, with reference to the important subject of missionary appointments: That Questions 1 and 2, Section VI, of the Manual for Missionary Candidates be amended so that they shall read as follows:—

Question 1. What are your views respecting each of the leading doctrines of Scripture commonly held by the churches sustaining this Board? In answering this question, you may use your own language or refer to any creeds of acknowledged weight.¹

Question 2. Have you any views at variance with these doctrines or any views of church government which would prevent your cordial co-operation with the missionaries of this Board?

These questions being so amended, all applications for missionary appointment shall be made as now to the Corresponding Secretaries of the Board. Without further correspondence on doctrinal matters the communications thus received by the Secretaries shall be presented forthwith to the Prudential Committee. In case the Committee desire further scrutiny into the theological opinions of the candidate² this shall be had through an interview with the Committee as a body; or in case this, in any special instance, is not practicable, with a sub-committee appointed by them from their own number and consisting in part of laymen. At such theological examination by the Committee or sub-committee the doors shall be open for the presence of any members of the Board or personal friends of the candidate.

Resolved Fifth: That any rules or parts of rules inconsistent with any of the foregoing resolutions be hereby annulled.³

All which is respectfully and unanimously submitted by your committee.

GEO. LEON WALKER,
ALONZO H. QUINT,
SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ELIHU B. MONROE,
GEORGE P. FISHER,
JOHN H. WASHBURN,
ARTHUR LITTLE,
RALPH EMERSON,
ROYAL C. TAFT.

¹ As adopted, these words were added: "as to the doctrines contained in these creeds."

² As adopted, these (or substantially these) words were inserted at this point: "They may address to him such supplementary questions as appear to them important, and if further light shall still be needed."

³ This resolution, before adoption, was expanded so as to specify the changes contemplated.

COMPARATIVE TABLES.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.				FOREIGN MISSIONS.				AMERICAN BOARD.				AMERICAN HOME MISSIONS-ARY SOCIETY.				AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.					
Years.	Churches.	Members.	Contributions from Churches.	Woman's Board.	Legacies.	Morning Star.	Mission Schools.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	Out-De-quest.	Sweet Bc-quest.	Grand Total.	Contributions.	Legacies.	Total.	Contributions.	Legacies.	Known-ments.	Special.	Total.	
1860	5,745	384,322	\$28,572		\$71,469		\$5,254	\$11,297	\$43,732	\$182,787		\$613,239	\$29,720	\$24,469	\$54,189	\$21,219	\$191,795	\$25,462	\$409	\$150,000	\$312,657
1861	5,938	387,619	291,465		105,067		6,448	8,225	462,270	185,736		631,576	340,778	86,737	427,515	186,101	186,101	76,619	21,000	286,273	
1862	6,010	386,300	293,415		121,073		6,431	9,035	525,427	67,593		593,056	370,062	124,811	495,793	146,589	146,589	12,000		296,865	
1863	6,102	401,549	255,909		131,531		6,307	9,103	538,450	48,805		587,255	371,937	140,388	518,325	181,937	181,937	14,000		284,265	
1864	4,777	439,379	291,743		121,478		5,935	9,244	572,538	41,145		613,683	324,445	171,327	685,672	215,564	215,564	3,000		293,149	
1865	4,694	457,594	221,943		107,191		1,855	5,243	572,538	41,145		613,683	324,445	171,327	685,672	215,564	215,564	3,000		293,149	
1866	4,659	461,865	235,075		135,654		6,312	10,657	590,010	43,065		633,075	342,331	75,676	615,327	258,300	258,300	1,000		1,304,714	

AMERICAN COLLEGE AND EDUCATION SOCIETY (EDUCATION DEPARTMENT).				CONGREGATIONAL Sunday-School and PUBLISHING SOCIETY (SUNDAY-SCHOOL DEPARTMENT).				NEW WEST EDUCATION COMMISSION.				PRESBYTERIAN BOARD. FOREIGN MISSIONS.							
Year.	Churches.	Legacies.	Total.	Income of Ships.	Income of Legacies.	Total.	Interst.	etc.	Total.	Contributions.	Legacies.	Total.	Churches.	Woman's Societies.	Sunday-Schools.	Missionaries.	Special for Debt.	Legacies.	Total.
1860	17,121	\$3,457	\$37,150	\$4,988	\$35,014	\$4,988	...	...	\$37,150	\$10,729	\$12,500	\$23,229	20,304	\$176,404	20,345	\$2,343	\$189,105	\$25,462	\$193,132
1861	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1862	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1863	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1864	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1865	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1866	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1867	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1868	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567
1869	16,562	46,045	47,135	5,005	35,387	46,045	...	...	47,135	10,729	12,500	23,229	20,304	176,404	20,345	2,343	189,105	25,462	214,567

* For the years 1870-1881.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.				AMERICAN COLLEGE AND EDUCATION SOCIETY. (EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.)				CONGREGATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.				NEW WEST EDUCATION COMMISSION.				PRESBYTERIAN BOARD, FOREIGN MISSIONS.							
Years.	Churches.	Legacies.	Total.	Donations.	Legacies.	Income of Churches.	Total.	Contributions.	Legacies.	Interest, etc.	Total.	Contributions.	Legacies.	Total.	Churches.	Woman's Board.	Sunday Schools.	Miscellaneous.	Special for Debt.	Legacies.	Total.		
1860	37,170	\$3,077	\$3,077	12,914	5,012	4,884	23,014	25,014	..	..	..	25,014	..	..	..	116,967	20,145	69,343	69,343	..	131,105	\$25,178
1861	38,134	43,077	86,111	16,932	13,004	5,065	35,317	30,382	2,055	..	2,055	37,104	..	..	..	170,394	19,986	73,389	73,389	..	111,537	598,286
1862	46,985	49,456	96,441	9,296	14,043	4,597	28,336	30,382	1,014	..	1,014	31,396	..	..	..	180,060	17,954	69,343	69,343	..	111,537	578,738
1863	50,092	50,092	100,184	15,619	7,540	5,065	28,225	30,382	3,024	..	3,024	33,406	..	..	..	234,205	24,721	92,021	92,021	..	112,532	695,387
1864	50,092	50,092	100,184	12,157	2,275	20,149	25,190	30,382	60	594	654	30,574	..	..	..	247,784	31,857	74,758	74,758	..	112,190	695,233
1865	50,092	50,092	100,184	12,157	2,275	20,149	25,190	30,382	60	594	654	30,574	..	..	..	247,784	31,857	74,758	74,758	..	112,190	695,233
1866	50,092	50,092	100,184	12,157	2,275	20,149	25,190	30,382	60	594	654	30,574	..	..	..	247,784	31,857	74,758	74,758	..	112,190	695,233
1867	50,092	50,092	100,184	12,157	2,275	20,149	25,190	30,382	60	594	654	30,574	..	..	..	247,784	31,857	74,758	74,758	..	112,190	695,233
1868	50,092	50,092	100,184	12,157	2,275	20,149	25,190	30,382	60	594	654	30,574	..	..	..	247,784	31,857	74,758	74,758	..	112,190	695,233
1869	50,092	50,092	100,184	12,157	2,275	20,149	25,190	30,382	60	594	654	30,574	..	..	..	247,784	31,857	74,758	74,758	..	112,190	695,233

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GESCHICHTE DER ETHIK IN DER NEUEREN PHILOSOPHIE. VON FRIEDRICH JODL, o. ö Professor der Philosophie an der deutschen Universität zu Prag. (2 vols. Stuttgart. Vol. i., 1882. Vol. ii., 1889.)

The publication of the second of these two volumes was delayed by a change of residence and the pressure of new duties upon the author, with all the hindrances incident to both of these circumstances. The contents of the first volume include a short introductory account of Greek and Christian ethics, and then proceed to discuss quite fully modern ethics from Bacon to Kant. There is in this no attempt to give a philosophic classification of schools, because it is found impossible to make the philosophic and the historical order go together. In the second volume this is to some extent accomplished. It begins with Kant and includes all but contemporaries of the nineteenth century. The first division is that of nationalities, and none are admitted except England, Germany, and France. In Germany are considered the schools of Idealism headed by Kant, the mediation between Idealism and Naturalism headed by Schleiermacher, Pessimism by Schopenhauer, and Eudæmonism by Beneke and Feuerbach. In France there are the two schools, "Spiritualism" and Positivism, headed respectively by Cousin and Comte. In England there are also two schools, Intuitionism and Utilitarianism, the former led by Dugald Stewart, Whewell, and Mackintosh, and the latter by Bentham and Mill. It will be apparent from this outline that the two volumes present a fine field for study, and such it is. Besides the merit of the treatment adds to the interest of the subject. It was the original intention of the author that the second volume should contain a summary of results, but this, it was found, would require a volume by itself, and it has been omitted. Fortunately we do not have to await such a summary in order to determine the position and views of the author. These are very well defined in the method of criticism adopted and in the sympathies occasionally betrayed thereby, as well as in the brief *résumés* appended to the discussion of each of the three nationalities considered in the second volume. These reviews betray an evident antipathy to Kant in every respect except that in which he exalted the validity and authority of moral imperatives, or the ideal, after he had cut away the usual grounds upon which they were made to rest, and also they indicate an equal admiration for J. S. Mill and his utilitarianism. Indeed, it is not necessary to go outside of the author's relation to these two authors to discover both the strength and the weakness of his sympathies and antipathies. Aside from all criticism upon the views either latent or expressed, the work is one of the best that has appeared. There is less ability to appreciate the ethical consciousness which has sought to express itself in various theories than there is to measure their relative merits according to a given standard. This is a defect in criticism, and exposition, although it might not be in mere history. But even if the work be faulty in this respect, it is not wanting in candor and fairness, a quality which will cover a multitude of other defects, and this quality has been so cultivated in the author as never to narrow his sympathies in any such way as appears in the philosophy of J. S. Mill. Even the opposition to the fundamental conceptions in the Kantian school is never

tempered by the feeling which supporters of that system would have to deplore. All criticism is scientifically and temperately conducted. In the main the work is what a true history of ethics must be; namely, a history of tendencies, and the author finds that the three national movements of which he treats converge in a form of positivism, which he thinks is best represented in the system of Mill. There is, however, a disposition to view systems of ethics apart from the metaphysical theories out of which they grew, and to consider them as too exclusively the product of existing circumstances, social, political, and moral. This is the natural consequence of the method and tendencies set afloat by evolution, but it neglects both the agencies and the material elements of metaphysical systems in determining ethical views, and these influences are often more effective and perhaps always superior in character to all the contributions of environment. Metaphysical systems have always presented the principle or fundamental conception which is found in the particular phenomena to be explained by it, whether those phenomena were scientific or ethical. But evolution, in so far as it is content only with external environment and its mechanical forces for explaining morality, either does nothing more than explain the historical genesis of empirical morals, or it completely eviscerates them of all ideal or ethical content, by setting up no higher principle than the struggle for existence as the ethical norm. Whatever fault can be charged to metaphysical ethics, they have come much nearer a true *deduction* of morals than either positivism or evolution. We believe there is a position which will furnish both methods, at least, a relative vindication, but it will not be found by assuming a permanent antagonism to metaphysical *methods*, although it may be just enough to repudiate either certain metaphysical systems or certain improper applications of their method.

Each general section of the author's work closes with a summary of results, and it is in these that we catch most definitely an expression of his own views and tendencies. The one closing the volume is the most explicit in this respect, and shows the author more in sympathy with the English school than with the German. It is the doctrine of J. S. Mill that strikes him as representing the position from which the future must reckon with the ethical problem. But it is not Mill's utilitarianism that impresses him so much with this conviction, but Mill's negative views on theology and religion. In bringing this to the forefront Jodl betrays most distinctly his predisposition to regard the ethical problem as involving a well-defined position for or against theological conceptions of it. This may be true for a great many minds, and is unfortunately true for too many. But to any mind which holds that all theological conceptions are the result, not the condition, of the development of the ethical consciousness, such an assumption is not at all necessary. Nevertheless the facts which the author endeavors to indicate are so important that we may well accept his position for the sake of appreciating a very serious problem which we think moralists and theologians alike have not sufficiently pondered. We cannot undertake in a brief criticism to solve it, but only to state it, and to indicate the influence which it seems to have exercised upon the mind of our author, and which has been strong enough to convince him that the whole ethical problem must be decided at this point.

The crucial question is found in the conceptions which the religious mind has connected, or is assumed to have connected, with its notion of

God. These are that in addition to the ideality of God, the conception has stood for the creator of the world, the supreme governor of its order, or the moral director of all its events. This conception unites the ideas of moral personality with causal agency, and, as in human affairs, carries with it the inference that this causal efficiency is responsible to the moral for all results that may come of its action. But Mill steps in with his dilemma which indicates that we have to choose between the finitude and the goodness of God. Nature is shown to be preëminently immoral or non-moral, in which case it is presumably impossible to find the reflection of a perfectly holy God in it, and the deity if righteous at all must be regarded as morally and "physically" finite. On the other hand, if his infinity must be saved it can only be at the expense of his moral goodness which is not effective in making the power and the character of God equal to each other in his revelation. Jodl seems to think the dilemma insoluble, and in view of the fact finds it necessary, like Mill, to resort to a position which is a sort of alliance between positivism and the Kantian ideal and imperative. Whatever may be thought of this reconstructive effort it is certainly more commendable and satisfactory than all such purely negative criticisms as Hume's. A positive view with moral earnestness and honesty behind it always deserves charity, if not sympathy, and Jodl is in earnest, besides being less affected by philosophic sectarianism than Mill. The dilemma itself, which he finds insoluble, might be criticised for its failure to recognize the extent of human responsibility for the existence of evil, and for the more important failure to see, that the whole difficulty may be occasioned by the surreptitious introduction of anthropomorphic conceptions of goodness and evil, which would vitiate all accusations against the Godhead. But however we might solve the problem philosophically in this way, the solution would not meet the difficulties of the ordinary mind for which Mill is speaking, and we do not think Jodl is wrong in emphasizing the fact that a very serious intellectual question is here presented. Its seriousness is very much enhanced by the success of evolution, which has done so much to take the lid off of nature, as it were, and has shown the place held by mere force in the economy of life. No doubt, the long-standing antithesis between the ideas of God and "nature" has much to do with the difficulty, and in so far as it has, older theories must share with evolution the responsibility for the consequences. But while this fact may explain the source of the difficulty, it does not remove the tendency of the mind to reason with the conception which this traditional antithesis sets up as the standard of speculative judgment. As long, therefore, as this whole problem is not reconstructed the common mind will be exposed to the terrible inroads which empirical evolution will inflict upon its moral ideals. Mill has struck the key-note to the profoundest reconstructive problem that the human mind has ever undertaken, although his destructive motives suggest that it can be approached only in some such way as Kant approached the results of Hume. The desired end can be attained only by a critical reconsideration of the ordinary antithesis between the ideas of "nature" and God; of the relation between power and goodness, and of the conceptions involved in the "genesis" of moral ideas.

J. H. Hyslop.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

LA MORALE ANGLAISE CONTEMPORAINE. Par M. GUYAN. 8vo, pp. 432. Paris : Felix Alcan. 1885.

THE first thing that strikes the reader of this book is the fact that it makes no mention whatever of such writers as Green, Martineau, Courtney, and Fowler and Wilson. Contemporary English ethics include these writers, all of them quite as important as Bentham, who cannot be considered a contemporary at all, and yet they are not even alluded to. Alfred Barratt is briefly discussed, although we suspect he is scarcely known among English writers themselves. But this anomaly is explained when we observe the less emphasized portion of the title, which adds to what we have given the explanatory phrase, "*Morale de Utilité et de l'Evolution.*" This makes clear the real contents of the work, and it includes the examination of Bentham, Owen, Mackintosh, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Grote, Bain, Bailey, Lewes, Sidgwick, Darwin, Spencer, Clifford, Alfred Barratt, and Leslie Stephen. Some of these are mentioned only in a few lines, while Bentham, J. S. Mill, Darwin, and Spencer occupy the discussion and criticism of nearly the whole of the work.

The interesting feature of the book is that the author vigorously attacks the whole principle of the utilitarian school, although we would naturally expect the descendants of Condillac and Helvetius to sympathize with this phase of thought. But Guyan is even above the general level of French thought. He shows in many passages, and especially in those which define the functions and objects of the science of Ethics, that the influence of idealism has not been in vain. He sees that the problem regards what *ought* to be, and not merely what is, pleasant, although a system based upon pleasure may be the only means of making itself effective in society. But in spite of perceiving the inherent defects, if they are defects, of the utilitarian school, the work is less reconstructive than critical; in fact, it is not reconstructive at all. It betrays indications of having been written in the midst of that general intellectual ferment which the doctrine of evolution has everywhere produced in ethical speculations, and which is more or less a sign of transition. It may be that the author is partly affected by the natural preferences of his nation,—a fact for which there are not wanting some indications, although the half unconscious recognition of a position which is due to Kant, but which the author does not trace to that source, or does not emphasize, shows that he is groping about for a light of whose existence he is assured, but which he does not yet see in its real place or brilliancy. However this may be it is pleasant to recognize a disposition to remind Englishmen of faults in the utilitarian phase of speculation, if for no other purpose than to prevent it from degenerating into a system of dogmatism, as every victorious system is in danger of doing, be it political, philosophical, or theological. This spirit, coming from a writer outside of the prejudices and sympathies which attach to the English student of his own writers, has a value worth respecting. The style and method of discussing an author are admirable. They consist in an exposition of the system to be discussed, in the spirit of its author, putting everything as if the author were discussing it himself, and this mode of treatment is so well sustained that the reader would not detect the real sympathies of the critic, which are revealed only in the second part of the book, except in such occasional passages as are necessary to indicate the point upon which a successor endeavored to improve the theory of a predecessor. Candor and fairness are very marked features of the work.

Although Bentham is not strictly a contemporary it was necessary to examine his system fully in order to criticise Mill, Spencer, and Stephen. In examining Bentham the author very clearly points out a defect of his system, which Leslie Stephen frankly admits. It is that duty and pleasure cannot be reconciled with each other in the existing world. They may often consist, and perhaps would consist, in an ideal world; but in the world with which we have to do, and with which alone a system of practical ethics has to deal, this complete harmony of individual duty and desire does not exist, and, as Stephen remarks, cannot be made to harmonize by any chicanery of logic or speculation. After pointing out this fact in the founder of utilitarianism the author proceeds to measure the success of other members of the school in their attempts to solve the problem. He disputes the validity of Mill's effort to solve it with the distinction between the qualities of pleasure, by insisting that this distinction of quality is a surrender of the fundamental principle of utilitarianism. This may or may not be so, but the persistency of this criticism forces the school to engage in more fundamental analysis than has been previously practiced, if it is to be sustained.

Darwin and Spencer are criticised from the standpoint of a man who has no religious opinions to sustain against the imaginary opposition of evolution. But aside from this attention is called to the fact that these authors, and, for that matter, the whole school of evolutionists, fail to distinguish between the origin and the nature of moral conceptions and principles. But the criticism is not developed as it might have been. Here is a point of great value, but it is buried amidst a mass of discussion that completely conceals its importance and usefulness for pointing out the incompleteness of evolution without in the least impeaching a single conclusion that it may have established concerning the origin of morality.

In regard to the criticism of Sidgwick, we think the author has entirely misunderstood that author, as has also Fouillée, and in the same respect. They criticise him as one whose system is constructed to terminate in the theological view. Nothing is farther from that author's intention, although such a conclusion in Ethics would not be inconsistent with the view he holds. But Guyan and Fouillée mistake subjunctive and concessive for declarative propositions on the part of Sidgwick. Besides, they fail to see that his sole object is to discuss the "Methods" of ethical theories, with as little exposition of his own positive views as possible, rather than to defend a particular theory to the exclusion of all others. Among English writers Sidgwick is regarded as a pronounced utilitarian. But his critics in this volume have mistaken his candor and justice to all theories, and more especially, perhaps, his strong statement of the objections to the form of utilitarianism advocated by Bentham, for the support of the intuitional theories which they think the only alternative to English thinkers, and which they imagine is always associated with theological sympathies. Certainly in this case neither the fairness of Sidgwick is understood nor his really utilitarian affinities.

A principal defect of the work is the extremely attenuated character of some of its criticisms. Utilitarianism is sometimes quite misrepresented in order to reduce it to an absurdity, or in order to multiply objections to it. These misrepresentations, however, are not in the historical narrative, where, as we have said, all is incomparably fair, but they are found in the critical discussions where the desire to refute the system uncon-

sciously masters the perceptions of a better judgment, and the reader feels that the distinctions and illustrations are too finely drawn. But this fault is perhaps due to another which deserves notice. It is that the whole work bears the marks of hasty and immature thought. Most of the criticism could be condensed into half the space and perhaps less. Admirable as the work is in its general spirit, and especially as expressing the character of present French thought, which is remarkably active in the field of Ethics, it could have been much better had it been the result of longer and maturer thought. This is made evident by the fact that the same author has published six other volumes, and died recently at the age of thirty-three years. This is too much for so short a life, and to be done well at the same time. Nevertheless, there are marks of merit about the work as well as genius: only we would have been glad to see more of the constructive after the author has criticised utilitarianism so unsparingly. Usually a critic of that system and of evolution has some system to propose instead of that which he has removed. But Guyan seems hardly to comprehend the situation or his obligations to the reader. So far as he has expressed himself positively it is entirely in sympathy with the results of the systems he has criticised. But after having shown that evolution or the theories of Spencer and Darwin are not truly theories of Ethics, valuable as they are as histories of the origin of morality, it seems incongruous to fall in with the skeptical spirit which he fears in the dissolving tendencies expressed and fostered by them.

J. H. Hyslop.

CRITIQUE DES SYSTEMES DE MORALE CONTEMPORAINS. Par ALFRED FOUILLÉE. 8vo, pp. 411. Paris: Germer Baillière et Cie. 1887.

It is difficult to do this book justice without stooping to incivilities which have become extinct since the controversy between Milton and Solomatus. The author shows a spirit quite in contrast with that of Guyan, of whom he seemed to be an intimate friend. But how two minds of such opposite temperaments and manners in criticism could affiliate at all is a mystery. Guyan, as we have said, was fair, and when he was not he tried to be so. But Fouillée is not fair, and one doubts sincerely whether he tries to be. It would not be far from the truth to say that he does not know enough about systems of Ethics to criticise them, and yet he is one of the most voluminous of the French writers on philosophy. But he is moved by a passion to annihilate every system that was ever produced, apparently for no other reason than that it does not happen to use a word which he thinks the open sesame of all mysteries, namely, the word "idee-force." Some conception of his criticism and manners can be obtained by remarking the contents of his work. It professes to discuss contemporary systems, and begins with the Ethics of Darwin and Spencer. This chapter is followed by one on Positivism as represented by M. Littré. Then what he calls the "critical school" is examined, including Pillon and Renouvier; but nearly the whole chapter is occupied with the latter. The Ethics of Kant next take up his attention for one hundred and thirteen pages, more than one fourth of the volume, to be followed by three chapters respectively treating of Pessimism, the "spiritualistic" systems, as he calls them, represented by Ravaisson and Paul Janet, and the system of "æstheticism and mysticism." The last chapter is upon "theological" theories, represented by Secretan.

It is not necessary to indicate the important ethical writers omitted in the work, as any moderately informed person can supply them himself. It is very amusing to see Darwin discussed and Sidgwick only mentioned to say that he belongs to the theological school, or to find so much attention bestowed upon Secretan whom nobody here in France even seems to know, and Paulsen, Jodl, Wundt, and Ziegler not named in the work. But if we examine the nature of the discussion we very easily discover why this is. The author has a morbid antipathy to every proposition which anybody might happen to use for theological purposes. He cannot keep a balanced judgment whenever he comes across such a proposition, and when he can find no other objection to some opinion which he does not like, he simply says that it is a modified form of some hated theological doctrine which he has demolished or proceeds to demolish. Not that we ourselves would go into a defense of all theological theories of Ethics, for a great many of them are exposed to just and severe criticism. But it is not necessary to go into convulsions whenever we see a word or proposition which might be construed in favor of a theological dogma. Chivalry and moral self-control might have saved the author from making himself ridiculous.

The same spirit characterizes his criticism of Kant. Indeed, the examination of Kant did not properly come within the limits of his subject; but he deliberately goes out of his way and consumes more than one fourth of his work in one of the most ignorant assaults upon Kant we have ever read. The author evidently does not understand a single position of the Kantian Ethics, or if he does he deliberately misrepresents them for the pleasure of attacking them. He never allows himself to make an admission that might recognize the least sanity or truth in Kant, a rather remarkable fact when we look at the influence of that philosopher on the history of thought. Not that a critic must agree with Kant, for every one knows there are weaknesses in his system. But the influence he has actually had upon human thought, whether his system be true or false, demands that he be both understood and intelligently criticised. Neither of these conditions is fulfilled by our author. On the contrary, the manner and spirit with which he attacks every single principle in Kant reminds one of Cato in his animosity against Carthage. The author could hardly be more absurd if he had terminated every paragraph, like Cato, with *delenda est*. But what is the secret of all this hostility? The answer to this question, as well as the clue to the author's whole temper of mind, is shown in a sentence at the beginning of his criticism against Kant, where he formulates Kant's motive in producing his philosophy in the following way: "I must abolish science in order to make a place for faith." The summary more distinctly indicates the author's conception of Kantianism and the purpose of attacking it. Here he states six characteristics which are regarded as the essence of the system. They are: that "the categorical imperative is a return to the ancient spiritualism"; that "the system maintains the theological spirit in morals"; that it is "semi-mystical"; that it is only "formalism"; that it shows "no connection between the noumenal and the phenomenal world"; and that it is a system of "dogmatism." Such a characterization of Kant has only to be mentioned to be laughed at. Kant a dogmatist! Kant aiming to "abolish science in order to make a place for faith"! Every tyro in philosophy knows that Kant annihilated "dogmatism" as a method, and that his first as well as distinctly de-

clared motive was to determine a basis for science which Hume had practically destroyed. But these facts are stated to show the very limited intelligence of Kant's self-styled critic. Why, the author proceeds in a spirit that would make the reader think he had gotten angry because he could not understand Kant and had resolved to refute him on that account.

We have spoken of the author thus severely because of several facts. The first is that he has gone entirely out of his way to discuss Kant, and shows a spirit in it that is not only far from moral, but is also a proof that there was more of spleen than love of truth in his motives. This is a hard charge to make against an author; but it can be very well sustained in this case. The second fact, and it is a remarkable one showing a great defect in the work, is that in the discussion of every system undertaken by the author there is no historical statement whatever of the man's views to be examined, such as Guyan gives and would give. Fouillée begins almost anywhere with some statement of an author, and proceeds to discuss it out of its proper relations in the system. He makes no effort to put himself *en rapport* for the time with the systems he is to criticise, but, on the contrary, has either the simplicity or the audacity to imagine that their language must have the meaning which he has been accustomed to give them in his own experience or philosophy. This is a vice of too many critics, and is the source of most of the world's misunderstandings. The third and most important fact is that the author does not assume or present a single principle throughout his work by which to criticise the ethical theories of others. He simply hunts about for statements with which to quarrel, and does not seem to aim at presenting any truth as his result, except the conviction that the object of his attack is no philosopher. The consequence is that he often falls into contradictions growing out of the want of a principle of criticism. Not a moral axiom or principle is announced in the book, or at least any such as would be recognized by any philosopher from Plato to the present. The author has a fundamental principle, which is that Ethics are based upon Metaphysics, and that the principle influencing the will is an "idee-force." But in no place does he define "Metaphysics," a thing very much needed on his part because he excludes "theological" Ethics and the systems of Hegel and Schopenhauer from the sphere of "Metaphysics." This is, however, very probably one of his caprices for which there is no accounting. Again, his "idee-force" is not an ethical principle at all. It is nothing more than a scientific principle of explanation, a *ratio fiendi*, not a *ratio essendi*, of phenomena in the moral world. But he even makes no use of this principle, and contents himself with assaulting everything he approaches without impressing us that he has any moral motives in doing so. The most remarkable fact is that the author seems to be utterly devoid of all appreciation for the sentiment of duty. If he admits the term into Ethics at all it is only after having divested it of all meaning by his criticism of its functions in the systems of others. These faults of the author are all the more remarkable for the reason that he professes to be an idealist, and is recognized in his own country as exceptionally idealistic for a Frenchman. We read the work with the hope of being instructed by it, and are sorry to say that it will have no other use for us but as an object which will give us very good texts for strong criticism.

J. H. Hyslop.

American Statesmen. — JOHN JAY. By GEORGE PELLEW. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1890. pp. vi, 374. \$1.25. — It would have been well if this life had been prefaced by Dr. Francis L. Hawks's noble essay on John Jay. The author seems to have allowed the modesty of relationship to restrain somewhat the freedom of his style. It is plain and accurate, however, and is fortunate in having for its subject one for whom it is not necessary to stop to make apologies.

Jay, next to Washington and Hamilton, kept us anchored to our proper English antecedents, when everything else conspired to whirl us off into the current of the French madness. Washington was of the purest English blood; Jay had not a drop of English or British blood in his veins, and was all the more effective for that, in view of his diplomatic connections. His French and his Dutch descent combined to leave him an agreeable and sociable man, but thoroughly cool-headed. Firm in his religious belief, and only a century removed from the persecutions which had driven his Huguenot ancestry to America, he was repelled from any excess of friendship for France alike as a Protestant and as a Christian. "Piety, independence, and a keen sense of justice were natural birthrights in the Jay family; to these several generations of successful business men had added the more worldly virtues of prudence and perseverance, while from his father John Jay seems to have inherited a firmness of character which, in excess, would have been obstinacy, and a strength of feeling seldom suspected because united with unusual self-control." This combination did excellent service at home, but its central effectiveness, unquestionably, was displayed in Paris. Franklin alone could never have made head against the wiles of the French Duessa, who was bent on flattering us into a peace that would have left us a weakly cohering string of feeble states along the seaboard. We should hardly have held together, and in any event we should have had no future of national grandeur. It was the wish of France that we should have just strength enough, by timidly clinging to her skirts, to save ourselves from being reappropriated by England. And she came pretty near compassing her end. There have been few more eventful displays of critical good sense than when Jay cut the coils of Vergennes by suddenly dispatching the Englishman Vaughan to London, to impress upon the minds of the ministry "that, as every idea of conquest had become absurd, nothing remained for England but to make friends with those whom she could not subdue; and that the way to do this was by liberally yielding every point in the negotiation essential to the interest and happiness of America." Then at last our independence was achieved. The cordial and loyal adhesion of Franklin to this policy of resoluteness completed the good work.

Mr. Pellew gives a full and very amusing description of the infinite vexations and irksomeness of Jay's three years as minister to Spain. It is the comedy of the book, although poor Jay found it anything but comical. France was crafty and agreeable; Spain was craftier and odious. She was living in the dregs of the inquisition and in the dregs of her colonial tyranny. She hated us as heretics, and feared us as the future masters of the Mississippi and the Gulf. We certainly had some very queer allies, to whom it seems decidedly supererogatory to pay any extensive toll of gratitude.

The manner in which Jay subsequently sacrificed his popularity and

the prospects of the Presidency, by negotiating the treaty with England, against the incredible madness of the people, is simply sublime. But his twenty-eight years of retirement, though saddened by the early loss of his wife after retiring, were easily borne. He was eminently

"A soul whose master bias leans
To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes."

Jay's six years as Governor of New York needed a cool head and a firm mind, and found them. New York politics do not seem to have been any less then than now one infinite complication of intrigue. His moral nerve was shown best, where moral nerve is most required, against the unrighteous wishes of his friends. The choice of Jefferson or Adams hung on the vote of New York. It lay within the will of Jay to secure a law that would have given the New York electors to his side. Hamilton urged it, Schuyler urged it. "The Federalists," says Mr. Pellew, "had created a nation out of a confederation, and in the spirit of latter-day Republicans who felt that they had saved the country from dismemberment, they were convinced that on their continuance in power depended the conservation and prosperity of the State. A party which tacitly or openly holds such a belief will naturally justify any measure to secure itself in power by the final appeal to national self-preservation; but such a party, in control of the government, is a menace to popular liberty, and in any healthy state of public opinion is doomed to swift defeat, and perhaps, as happened in this case, to extinction. Jay, though as 'stalwart' a Federalist as any, nevertheless did not believe that a good end ever justified bad means; and he contented himself with simply indorsing on Hamilton's letter the significant words: 'Proposing a measure for party purposes which I think it would not become me to adopt.'"

John Jay, like his son William, was a loyal Low Church Episcopalian. If he were living now we know well whether or not he would stand by the side of the present diocesan of New York in his warnings against that great conspiracy of capitalists and bummers, which is endeavoring to prostitute mighty memories to its own schemes of wholesale plunder.

Jay was not a genius like Franklin or Hamilton, nor was his life filled with picturesque incident, like various other founders, but his central services in France and England almost obscure various titles to greatness any one of which would have filled out a handsome ambition. He helped to coerce the beginnings of the Revolution in New York into the paths of decent self-restraint; he wrote many of those grave and weighty papers which astonished Europe at the wisdom of the new colonial Senate; he helped guide New York when she was wavering between loyalism and patriotism; he helped mainly to create the constitution which served New York for two generations; he was for a while the man of highest rank in the country as President of Congress; he was for five years foreign Secretary; he was a writer in the "Federalist;" and, more than all, he was the first Chief Justice of the United States. A life without stain, and ending "in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope."

We note two slips of the pen: on page 83, "Rhode Island" for "Long Island," and on page 257, "Philadelphia," we suppose for "Newburg."

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. The Expositors' Bible. The Gospel according to St. Luke. By the Rev. Henry Burton, M. A. Pp. vii, 415. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. — The Expositors' Bible. The Gospel of St. Matthew. By John Monro Gibson, M. A., D. D., London, author of "The Ages before Moses," "The Mosaic Era," etc. Pp. viii, 450. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. — The Expositors' Bible. The Book of Exodus. By the Very Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D. D., Dean of Armagh, author of "Christ Bearing Witness to Himself," "As He that Serveth," "The Gospel of St. Mark," etc. Pp. xx, 422. \$1.50. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. — Jesus of Nazareth. I. His Personal Character. II. His Ethical Teachings. III. His Supernatural Works. Three Lectures before the Y. M. C. A. of Johns Hopkins University, in Levering Hall. John A. Broadus, D. D., LL. D., President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Pp. 105. 1890. 75 cts. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston.

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The Christian Literature Company, New York, Oxford, and London. A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Translated into English, with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes, under the Editorial Supervision of Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., and Henry Wace, D. D. Vol. I. Eusebius: The Church History of Eusebius. Translated, with Prolegomena and Notes, by the Rev. Arthur C. McGiffert, Ph. D.,

Professor of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati; The Life of Constantine, together with the Oration of Constantine and the Oration of Eusebius in Praise of Constantine. A Revised Translation, with Prolegomena and Notes, by E. C. Richardson, Ph. D., Associate Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. Pp. x, 632. 1890.

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